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Contents

Greek Technologies of Antiquity / Quarterone Chrol.....	6
History of criminal law among the Romans / Green Carin	22
Olympic Games, Ancient Greece / Mac Medlen Vouler	37
Public libraries in the Roman Empire / Hunter Bernstein.....	48
I study / my dream job – Testimonials / Dyson Henry.....	58
The history of communication: from prehistory to the present day / Humble Noreen.....	83
Information and press as Institutions of Socio – political system of Azerbaijan Government / Vugar Rahimzade.....	108
Christianity: an imperialist and opportunist religion of Roman origin / Beasom Patrick.....	118



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Legislation of state information policy the formation of bases and development

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ABSTRACT

Over the past 25 years, Azerbaijan has taken comprehensive measures to ensure the media, freedom of speech, information, freedom of speech and the individual as a country that has chosen the path of democratic, legal, secular state-building. These events continue in our days, and international information experience has been deeply studied to form an open society, and national legislation has been adequately updated to meet the requirements of the new era. The state, as the main provider of freedom of information, determines the legal regime of information, the rules for access to information, the rules for access to information, and the rules for freedom of information in general through legal regulation. At the same time, it imposes legal remedies to prevent the exercise of this freedom.

Keywords: information policy, information law, freedom of thought, words and press, information space, information security, information society.

After the restoration of state independence of Azerbaijan, civil society and the rule of law were created, which became the most important attribute of the new stage in the development of the media. The fact that our country occupies one of the leading places in the CIS in the dynamics of freedom of speech and press over the past 25 years is due to these realities.

The history of the development of the Azerbaijani press has come a long and difficult path. In general, although the history of the press as its public institution is not as old as history, it is encouraging that the history of the Azerbaijani press is among the first in Central Asia and Eastern Europe.

On July 22, 1875, under the auspices of Hasan bey Zardabi, the first print organ began to function - the Ekinchi newspaper. Speaking about the role played by the Akindzhi newspaper in shaping the information policy of Azerbaijan, the national leader of the Azerbaijani people, Heydar Aliyev, said: the identity of human values with national traditions, the convergence of literary language with the spoken language, objective coverage of events has become the cornerstone of the future the development of the Azerbaijani national-democratic press "[1].

The founder of the history of the press, the newspaper "Farmer", uncle in 1877, after the newspaper was released, in issue 56 "Stop activity on property".

The end of the XIX century. The beginning of the twentieth century can be described as a period of pressure in the history of Azerbaijan. During the period under review, Ziya (1879), Kashkul (1880), Kaspi (1880-90), East (1903), Life (1905), "(1915), Azerbaijan (1918) and Molla Nasreddin, 1906 journal of the year.

The national-democratic press of 1918-1920 played an important role in the victory of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic and its propaganda. The overwhelming majority of those who achieved the foundations of the first democratic state in the East and in the Turkish world were outstanding, talented journalists, journalists and politicians.

The periodical AXC is the result of a higher development in the history of Azerbaijani national journalism compared with previous and previous periods, which could take the stage. In 1918-1920, the government of the Democratic Republic, which was one of the most honorable stages in our history of national liberation, did a great job in creating a legal basis for the development of our national journalism. For the first time during this period, a national information policy of a national democratic nature was implemented.

In May 1918, creating a democratic republic of Azerbaijan, soon, on October 30, 1919, the "Press Charter receives a URL". In adopting a "Charter of the Press", reflecting freedom of thought, freedom of the press and other rights

and freedoms in this area, he relied on the democratic principles of media freedom in the progressive global normative acts of the time.

On October 30, 1919, the Charter of the Press, adopted by the Parliament of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, gave a serious impetus to development. The charter provides for the abolition of senzuran, the media have shown that the establishment of legal ways. "Press Charter" in accordance with the first paragraph, with the publication of the works of the government printing house, allowed to sell the business, and no one got the right to it, and the government announced *istənilməyəcəyi* [2].

"Charter of the press" in accordance with the relevant rules, the profile of Proph-et for the first time in the Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan signed the order of November 9, 1918, the national government censorship of the press was available. D Abolishing censorship in the country will open the way to a press release. For many years, the "press about the charter" under the yoke of the tsarist empire has put pressure on people so that they can freely express their opinions. The adopted charter was the first legislative act regulating the activities of the media in the country. Thus, the development of free and professional journalism in Azerbaijan has led to this.

An analysis of the "Charter of the Press" by A. Valiev shows that the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic has taken serious steps to create a legal framework for the development of the press and journalism. Parliament October 30, 1919 "Press on the Statute" was adopted on a legal basis from the established media. This is the first legislative act regulating the activities of various printing and printing enterprises in the country. The charter consists of two parts. In the first part 20 points, and in the second three. The first paragraph of the Charter proclaims freedom of the press, saying that "the government will not demand the government." In the second paragraph, "not responsible for the proceedings" was brought to the attention. In the third paragraph, the Chief Press Officer of the Office of the Main Government was entrusted with administrative and general supervision. This legislation, which considers the freedom of speech and the press in Azerbaijan to be the main priority of the state and legally substantiates pluralism, identified "differences between the free press and the anarchist press".

At a meeting of the parliament on October 23, 1919, the bill was introduced for discussion by the editor of "Azerbaijan" Shafi Bey Rustambeyli. Deputies of the "Socialist Party" and "Hummat", who opposed the authorities around the project, spoke. Shafi Bey Rustambeyli, Samad Agamalioglu, Ibrahim Abilov, Nasib Bey Yusifbeyli, Aliheydar Garayev, Ahmed Pepinov, MA Sazulzade and others expressed their opinions and proposals on the project at a meeting chaired by Hasan bey Agayev. In an intense discussion, the socialists left the room with a serious objection to the third paragraph of the bill. One of the most prominent moments in the discussions is that Mr. Roustambeili speaks about the European experience of press regulation of the press. Roustambeyli said that, according to the history of the socio-political movement in Europe, freedom cannot be at an unlimited level. If the press and freedom of speech are

accepted without restriction, people will use it at their discretion. This can worsen the political situation in the country, increase external threats, increase ideological pressure and ultimately damage the new state. He showed that, as in all areas, the press must obey the law. After intensive discussions, the law was passed. For the first time, the law "Government of the Azerbaijan Republic Akhbaris" was published in December 1919 on November 27 and 27 [3, 131-132].

The recently adopted charter helped protect the country's information space from alien influence and the formation of a normal media system. The Charter, which meets the legal requirements of leading European countries, also paved the way for progressive journalistic traditions in Azerbaijan and deprived it of confidentiality, instability and lack of professionalism.

As you see, the government of Azerbaijan and the parliament comply with the requirements of the press and the publication of the period when a number of decisions were made. For example, in a parliamentary decree of October 30, 1919, it was reported that the production, printing, and sale of press, lithography, and similar enterprises were free. It is not by chance that freedom of speech, press and conscience reached a high level in Azerbaijan at that time. First, the republic, the ambassador of Ukraine in Turkey, and then Joseph Chamanzaminli "A writer must do?" The question that answers the modern period "the language of freedom, freedom of the pen" was answered [4].

If during the period from the creation of the Ekinchi newspaper until May 1918 there were only 40 newspapers, the number of newspapers during the 23-month rule of the Popular Front was about 200. The reasons for this extraordinary growth are statistikasındaki periodicals, primarily the existing democratic system of control. tolerant approach to opposition ideas, discussions, etc. disiyalara kus was associated with the problem. One of the main facts here is that most of the leaders of the Democratic People's Republic of Azerbaijan are journalists. Democratic-oriented media are sensitive to problems that concern people, affect problems that are waiting to be solved, promote ideas of freedom, independence, Turkism, and conduct some kind of political education [3, 117].

The activities of the Charter of the press, which is distinguished by its democratic content, was short and short, because after its entry into the Soviet empire, this important document also lost its legal force.

Although the Soviet era had an ideological press for the press, it played an important milestone in the development of the establishment and legal framework of this important institution of the political system.

The legal and political reform in 1978 led to a qualitatively new stage in the development of the national press. The Constitution of the Azerbaijan SSR adopted that year was approved by Heydar Aliyev as the state language of the Azerbaijani language. Just as the Azerbaijani language as the state language has become a major event in the history of the Azerbaijani press and in gen-

eral in the development of the Azerbaijani language. Therefore, the creation of such a legal, political, constitutional basis for the development of the language has opened new horizons for the development of the Azerbaijani press [5].

After the restoration of independence at the end of the 20th century, Azerbaijan restored the processes that remained intact in the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, as well as in many spheres of public life, carried out comprehensive reforms in the field of information, ensuring freedom of thought, speech, press and media. important work.

The adoption of the Law of the Republic of Azerbaijan "On Mass Media" in 1992 created the conditions for the creation of new media. In 1990, the publications were joined by the newspapers SES, Justice, Clarity, Zerkalo, Iki Sahil - the newspapers 525, 7 days, Yeni Azerbaijan.

1992 From March 15, on television and on April 2, 1993, censorship was imposed on the press.

Today, the existence of an independent Azerbaijani state, its democratic traditions and institutions, as well as the successful continuation of these traditions are directly connected with the name of Heydar Aliyev, who created their solid foundation. The existence of human rights, political pluralism and civil society in Azerbaijan is confirmed both in the independent activities of the media, which is emerging as a democratic institution, and in the legal framework and guarantees for their development. These decrees and decrees played a crucial role in the formation and development of independent media in Azerbaijan.

In June 1993, after Azerbaijan, a completely new stage in the development of the media began. That's all. Free activity of press services in the republic and the period of elimination of artificial obstacles for development, legislation to improve the fundamentals, material and technical provision of newspapers. The implementation of successive improvement measures has begun. In the society of Azerbaijan, as the model of its own development, 1 993, since the human rights of speech and the press adopted a number of international conventions on freedom of expression, joined the treaties [6, 125].

The first Constitution of the independent Azerbaijan Republic, adopted on November 12, 1995, provides for freedom of speech, opinion and information, the right of everyone to receive and disseminate information and the inadmissibility of censorship in the media.

Nowadays, an important milestone in the development of a free press and independent media in Azerbaijan begins with the abolition of censorship of the media in 1998. This year, the work is carried out in accordance with the Decree "On Additional Measures to Ensure Freedom of Expression, Opinion and Information in the Republic of Azerbaijan", signed by the Head of the State, created fundamental conditions for increasing the effectiveness of the mechanism of the activities of the mass media. the press and other mass media under the Cabinet of Ministers was repealed, the decree of 16 April 1992 on the

introduction of military censorship and the decree of 15 April 1993 on the use of Control over the dissemination of all information was considered lost.

The abolition of censorship in a democratic society for the future passes through a pluralistic information policy and is accelerated by the condition *Iməsini*. Other measures stipulated by the decree provide for the development of independent media, freedom of speech, information and opinions provided for by international law and the Constitution of Azerbaijan, and enrich the country's information policy [7].

In 1998, Azerbaijan was the first republic in the CIS to gain state control over the media. A year later, in 1999, the Mass Media Act was passed. The adoption of this law was one of the important steps in the qualitative enrichment and improvement of the regulatory framework governing relations in this area. It was a progressive law that regulates the development of the media, regulates the relations of the state, society and the media and enriches the corresponding legal framework. This document also contributed to the elimination of bureaucratic obstacles to the development of the media. State registration was canceled, and the procedure for issuing press releases was somewhat simplified. To do this, it was enough to file a petition to the Ministry of Justice.

2000 March month By the order of Heydar Aliyev "Massive material and technical conditions improved in the years 2000-2001 - everything for" the approved Program of measures was implemented.

Currently, modernization processes in all areas have accelerated. At present, the state and society of Azerbaijan live at a qualitatively new stage of development, modernize all spheres of public life, use information and communication technologies that meet world standards, increase people's well-being [8]. As a result of modernization, there is a transformation and renewal of all the institutions of society, including the mass media. At the same time, modernized media also influence the state modernization policy. Mass media tend to form liberal democratic values, openness, freedom of thought and expression, political, ideological, cultural pluralism, tolerance, dialogue, compromise, culture of consensus, public opinion, critical attitude towards reality, political culture, national idea and ideology, as well as the influence on the formation of traditions, the defense of national state interests becomes one of the main factors in the social and political policy of the state *darstva*, modernized society. [9]

As is known, in 2001, when the Republic of Azerbaijan joined the Council of Europe, it assumed several obligations. One of them is related to media reform. These reforms mainly reflect improvements in media legislation in line with existing democratic standards in this area. The content of legal acts adopted in 2001 in the field of freedom of the press and information, reflecting the key aspects and aspect of the state information policy, confirms the successful implementation of these reforms (in fact, the initial embodiments of these reforms were included in the Constitution of 1995 and 1998 and subse-

quently contained in acts of information legislation (for example, prohibition of censorship, etc.).

On December 27, 2001, the head of state signed an Order On Additional Measures to Raise Public Awareness about the Mass Media. The decree stated that freedom of speech and the press in Azerbaijan, the development of freedom of thought and political pluralism and unhindered interference in all spheres of public life created certain specific problems among government officials and civil servants. in the country through the media. On the one hand, freedom of the information society and media rights, personal rights and freedoms *gozlənilməməsində* balance speaks for itself. On the other hand, the principles of freedom of information and tolerance are not used properly due to the low level of professionalism and professionalism of some journalists.

Moreover, the difference between the abundance of the press and the real needs of society and the competition created in the conditions of market relations also created financial problems for many media. An order to overcome these problems, as well as the material and financial base of the media and the strengthening of the House of Speech, freedom of information and understanding, in order to create more opportunities for several events, including a license for private television and radio stations and radio bands with legislation to improve provision of independent television and radio broadcasting companies in expanding and improving the technical condition of broadcasting activities, the distribution of foreign channels in Azerbaijan in *tvəstvi* with legislation and regulation was intended.

On March 15, 2003, at the I Congress of Azerbaijani journalists, the Press Council of Azerbaijan was established to regulate the relations existing between the media, the public and the government. The creation of the Press Council had a positive effect on the eradication of poverty in this area. The creation of a professional code of journalists played an important role in solving the problems of media organizations.

On June 20, 2005, the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan signed an order to hold the 130th anniversary of the National Press of Azerbaijan. The decree says: "Today, continuing the policy and traditions of Heydar Aliyev in relations with the state and the press, the Azerbaijani government has taken steps to create normal conditions for the media, to ensure their influence on society's life, to play a role in democratization processes and to fully implement the rights of citizens and journalists to receive information. Sees it. In an era of globalization and information, it is necessary to ensure that all government bodies function in the same way as professionalism, and that effective transparency is also in place in order to activate their public relations.

In the present conditions, the state is faced with the task of establishing normal business relations with the media, respecting the journalists' right to information and cooperating with the media. In addition, it is stated that the state is interested in strengthening the independence of the press, its financial base, financial support, professionalism of journalists and journalistic influence, and concrete measures are being taken for this. The role of the Press Council as a

public body of self-regulation should be enhanced in the absence of a state body regulating relations in the field of press and information. The press council should play an increasingly active role in civil regulation of the state press, relations with civilian media, journalistic ethics, protecting the rights of journalists and expanding access to information. More vital and all media are more focused on objectivity, professionalism, impartiality, high national consciousness and patriotism [1, 0].

On July 21, 2005, President Ilham Aliyev signed decrees on awarding employees of the press service of Azerbaijan, awarding honorary titles to employees of the press service of Azerbaijan, and also on financial assistance to the media. In 2005, the Illinois press, to establish the 130th anniversary of Heydar Aliyev's President's policy, successfully continues the Honored Journalist, the name of the restoration of the country's leading media representatives, top awards, and the Progress Editorial Medal once and for all help.

The concept of state support of the press. Signing between a public institution and the media. Cooperation in the development of high-performance, mass economic independence of the media, as well as in enhancing the professionalism of media representatives and their citizens in order to strengthen the role of society in construction has generated. The decree of President Ilham Aliyev on the establishment of the State Support Fund for the Development of the Media under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan of April 3, 2009 states that state support for the development of mass media in the country. This is of great importance for the practical implementation of the issues reflected in the Concept [6, 152].

In 2008, the adoption of the Concept of state support of mass media in power, the development of independent media, the strengthening of the national state as the necessary support to confirm the trend. This Concept reflects the main provisions and important principles that will ensure the development of the media, which will serve the interests of the Azerbaijani state and people. Currently, the budget allocated by the Ministry of Economic Development and Trade is one of the main factors contributing to the reduction of negative trends in the media, along with improving the material security of the Azerbaijani press. Most of the terms and conditions contained in the concept of the relevant authorities inevitably lead to healthy, constructive, creative and responsible work, and that everyone, the state and society as a whole are desirable, worthy of attention [1 1].

Employees, housing conditions and their homes for the construction of the president, 2010 July 22 "Press workers to strengthen social protection measures" on the 2010 order "provide for the Azerbaijani Presidential Reserve Fund of Azerbaijan AZN 5 million. was allocated to the State Media Development Support Fund under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan; a separate building for 156 apartments was built for journalists.

The Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Azerbaijan dated May 17, 2010 No. 89 "On the Rules for Registration of State Information Resources" ap-

proved the Regulations. In accordance with this law, a state register of information resources is created in the Republic of Azerbaijan for the following purposes: registering and monitoring state information resources, coordinating the design, creation and use of information systems with government sources of information, means to ensure and protect them; operational, accurate and modern information exchange mechanisms, including the creation of a national information space, including existing and newly created information sources; Support for organizing the registration and exchange of information between the registry and local registries of information resources; unification of classifications and software and hardware solutions in the field of information; ensuring transparency to prevent discrimination and repetition when creating information resources; evaluation of the effectiveness of the creation and use of state information resources; support for the implementation of government programs and projects of electronic services for the transition to the information society; Assistance to individuals and legal entities in the protection of intellectual property rights established by law; creation of conditions for the exchange of experience between the subjects creating and using information resources, stimulating the use of advanced technologies; provision of state bodies with information on information resources of legal entities and individuals in accordance with the legislation, the definition of statistical indicators and the organization of relevant reports; ensuring the rights of citizens to access information and protect personal data [1 2].

According to the Decree of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan dated May 23, 2011 "On some measures in the field of electronic services provided by public authorities", state bodies organized electronic services in all areas in accordance with their activities. To ensure the organization of electronic services on the principle of "single window", a single portal of electronic government "www.e-gov.az" was created.

The Decree of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan dated September 26, 2012 "On measures to improve activities in the field of information security" is one of the most important legal acts regulating relations in the field of information security. In accordance with the Decree, the activities of state and non-state information infrastructure, their users are coordinated, cybersecurity risks are assessed and managed, national training and retraining programs are prepared and implemented to protect, stability and continuity of information processes. in the country, on the basis of the Department of Special Communications and Population Protection, a service was established to protect the information resources of state bodies, prevention, the State Agency for Special Communications and Information Security of the Special State Protection Service of the Azerbaijan Republic. Information security of the Special State Security Service of the Republic of Azerbaijan to ensure education [1 3].

The President of the country for the development of the space industry and information security will provide "signed by the Republic of Azerbaijan space industry and communications satellites into orbit" instructions, as well as the approval of "the space industry in Azerbaijan for the creation and development of

the state." The program "Azerbaijani global satellite transformation of a family member, as well as the creation and use of satellite technologies.

In accordance with the constitution, the related democratic provisions for further development were adopted, defining information, opinion and freedom of speech, freedom of the press and the legal basis of the law, due to the impossibility to say "About the Mass Media", "Broadcasting", "About Freedom of Information", " On information, protection of information and information ", " On electronic document and electronic signature ", " On telecommunications ", " On state secrets ", " On communications ", " On copyright and related rights "" On the procedure for handling un citizens ", etc.

Publications that have been registered at the Ministry of Press and Information for a long time were the only body. However, after the adoption of the Law on State Registration of Legal Entities on February 6, 1996, some changes occurred in this area. Thus, the Ministry of Justice registered the first edition, which was to be printed, and then agreed to act THOUSAND-AGAINST - the license was sold. "On Mass Media" the new law comes into force, after which a special license to work with the press is obtained, since the special rules of state registration adopted by the civilized world were undemocratic.

However, this Law was partially affected by the legal framework of electronic media, focusing mainly on the legal regulation of the activities of the media, and does not contain its essential features. Only on October 8, 2002, the basic principles of television and radio broadcasting, regulating the activities of electronic media, state regulation of television and radio broadcasting of the Republic of Azerbaijan, special regulation of broadcasting - licensing rules, organization of Ising broadcasting, as well as rights and obligations of the broadcaster and others. The Law "On Television and Radio Broadcasting" entered into force. This law, which forms the legal basis of electronic media, has achieved significant success in the rapid development of electronic journalism [14].

On June 25, 2002, after the adoption of the Law on Television and Radio Broadcasting, approving the Regulations on the National Broadcasting Council, the National Broadcasting Council was established as the regulatory body in this area. President of the Republic of Azerbaijan dated October 5, 2002. The main objectives of the Council are to regulate the activities of television and radio broadcasting, protect their independence and public interest in broadcasting, as well as monitor compliance with legislation on television and radio broadcasting. In accordance with the charter of the organization, the Council prepares and implements a unified concept for the development of the broadcast-information space; defines technical and quality standards and norms of broadcasting; issues a special license for television and radio broadcasting and holds a competition for this; "Public television and radio broadcasting" is organized by the Respu blikasının organization groups in accordance with the Broadcasting Act, which promotes the work of the wheel. [15]

In 2004, Council of Europe experts drafted and adopted a new draft law "On Public Television and Radio Broadcasting".

On September 30, 2005, the Law on Access to Information was adopted. The adoption of this law was an important step forward in the country to provide more freedom of access to information for journalists and ordinary citizens.

The main purpose of the law was to express in Article 1 p. In accordance with the same article, the purpose of the law is to create conditions for the performance of public affairs, other public functions and comprehensive and comprehensive control over the society, individual citizens. In order to ensure that control is fully and fully implemented in accordance with the principles of a democratic, legal and open society, the law is designed to ensure that everyone has access to public information on an unimpeded and equal basis. Open society principles require that all societies and individuals be aware of what they do and how they affect their daily lives, so that people can influence work, plans, work processes and influence them when necessary. An open society can be only where there are high democratic values [16, 134].

"Access to information" - tasks for different media owners. For this purpose, the information owner must appoint an information officer or, if necessary, establish an information unit. The owner of knowledge is obliged to periodically train information workers and create conditions for them to fulfill their legal obligations.

Name the bathroom anunun One of the advantages is that the information can be disclosed. This is stated in Article 29 of the Law. One of the other advantages is the fact that the disclosure of information by the information holder is clearly defined in the law. The informant should disclose a number of information that was created or obtained as a result of performing public duties, in order to more simply and effectively ensure the interests of society, to reduce infrequently requested information requests. [1, 7, 74].

The information owner should disclose the following information in such a way as to make the interests of the public easier and more operational, in order to reduce the number of information requests or generated as a result of public duties: generalized statistical information, including summary statistics of crimes and administrative offenses; budget forecasts; regulations on structural divisions of state bodies; Guide to the activities of state bodies and municipalities; the staff list of state bodies and municipalities, the names, phone numbers, e-mail addresses of officials working in these departments, as well as information about their education and qualifications; reports on the activities of state bodies and municipalities, names and surnames of employees of governing bodies of legal entities performing public functions, e-mail addresses; conditions, results of state and municipal procurements, as well as information on the sale of state and municipal property, change of ownership rights to it; Information about loans, grants, conditions and use of information carriers as defined in Article 9.1 of the Law; when draft regulations are sent for approval or approval; from the day the regulatory legal acts come into force; information on the activities of legal entities performing public functions, information on

their income and expenses; reports on the execution of the state budget and the consolidated budget; environment, environmental damage and dangerous environmental impacts, and so on.

The information owner and affiliates should not be held responsible for obtaining information and are responsible for unlawfully refusing to provide information. The rules related to the criminal law protection of communications in the field of computer information are defined in Chapter 30 "Cybercrime". These norms criminalize the following actions, publicly declaring a dangerous act, and establish criminal liability for their perpetration.

The Law on State Secrets regulates relations arising from the secrecy, protection and use of information, confidentiality or disclosure of confidentiality in order to ensure the security of the Republic of Azerbaijan. The law of state bodies and officials in the field of state secrets and protection of state secrets, a list of information, principles of conduct and confidentiality of state secrets, g, State secrets are not confidential data, data meter in terms of secrecy and data media information about ghosts, m data in secret, the rule of confidentiality of their carriers, m the information provided in connection with the confidentiality of citizens, enterprises, institutions and organizations of the same information, is limited disclosure of possession, d, data carrier information on state secrets, m data in declassification procedures, d, state declassification of information security rules, as well as disposal of secret information, d, protection of state secrets, d, ensuring security of state secrets, liability for violation legislation of the Republic of Azerbaijan on state secrets, control over the provision of state secrets, and other provisions of this Convention.

Crime - The Criminal Procedure Code defines the rules for the protection of information collected during an investigation and investigation.

The secret of the lawyer, the secret of the notary, the secret of the doctor, bank secrecy, bank secrecy, the secrecy of the journalist's information resources are regulated by the relevant legislative acts.

"Information, informatization and protection of information about the" Law of the Republic of Azerbaijan of April 3, 1998 "The scope of the law", in article 1 of which it is stated that "... it is the law, the collection, processing, storage of information" search, dissemination of information based on the formation of resources, information systems, technologies, their creation and use, regulates the relations arising in connection with the protection of information, and determines the rights of entities involved in information processes. "

As you can see, the law largely regulates informational relations. Unfortunately, Article 2 of the same law, entitled "Basic Concepts," does not provide a legal definition of informational relations.

The Law of the Republic of Azerbaijan on Freedom of Information of June 19, 1998 regulates the relations arising in connection with the exercise of freedom of information. The law provides for freedom of information, freedom of information and its exchange, the purpose, completeness and accuracy of infor-

mation, the legitimacy of searching, collecting, using, distributing and protecting information, keeping personal and family life of everyone, and security based on progressive principles.

The Law of the Republic of Azerbaijan "On Combating Terrorism" also regulates issues related to the provision of necessary information to the public in relation to terrorist acts. Thus, in accordance with Article 11 of the Law, information on terrorist acts in the course of anti-terrorist operations is provided to the public in the form and extent determined by the head of the operational headquarters or the public relations officer of the operational headquarters. The following information is not allowed:

- 1) On tactics and techniques of conducting anti-terrorist operations;
- 2) Information on obstacles to the conduct of anti-terrorist operations that threaten the life and health of people in the combat zone against terrorism or outside it;
- 3) Information that justifies terrorism or serves to promote it;
- 4) Persons involved in anti-terrorist operations and assisting in carrying out such operations [1, 8].

According to experts on media law, there are both useful and harmful aspects of presenting terrorist messages to the public, as is done in the media. The advantages of such information to the public are as follows: the society has the opportunity to receive free and uncensored information so that it can be prevented by the state and other provocations that can be spread against it, trust in the government structures, trust in the state, media coverage of events. As for terrorism, it is against the harmful sides of a public offering: inciting the incident to encourage other criminal groups to keep more news, can be a source for creating terrorist characters and eliminating their mistakes and revising their tactics.

On the other hand, the live broadcast of the ongoing terrorist attacks in the media is unacceptable. Broadcasting is mainly carried out in close proximity to law enforcement agencies that are trying to put an end to terrorism. If terrorists have the opportunity to watch television, a terrorist act can have longer and more terrible consequences. At the same time, the main focus of terrorist attacks is that it is dangerous for the state to overthrow the security forces trying to cross the stage. This can lead to chaos in society, the formation of distrust [17, 103].

Terrorism is a global threat to not only the isolation of individual states, but also of the international community as a whole. In the modern era, the forms of terrorism and the malicious manifestations of mankind are changing rapidly. Along with the traditional types of explosions and destruction, information terrorism is widespread. However, the Anti-Terrorism Act does not specifically provide for information terrorism. However, information terrorism can deal a serious blow to the interests of the individual, society and the state, and sometimes overcome serious consequences (such as the state's economic system

as a result of cyber attacks, state information resources, etc.). More difficult and more problematic than eliminating . This type of terrorism should also be specified in the law and its understanding, the ways of its characterization, in general, the legal regulation of relations arising in this area.

Legislation regulating informational relations may also include the Law of the Republic of Azerbaijan "On Advertising". As can be seen from the legal law on advertising, advertising itself is in fact a fact (as in accordance with article 2.0.1 of the law, advertisers must attract the advertiser's attention to any form, using various means and methods to shape and maintain their interests, this information published to promote the product market and stimulate its sales). Therefore, many issues related to the legal status of information are also related to advertising. The second chapter of the law is devoted to the features of advertising broadcasting tools. Contains information on television and radio programs (publications), periodicals, written notices, printed and audiovisual information published by telecommunication devices and announcements, etc. On the legal regulation of relations with advertising.

Today, the existence of an independent Azerbaijani state, its democratic traditions and institutions, as well as the successful continuation of these traditions are directly connected with the name of the great leader. The existence of human rights, political pluralism and civil society in Azerbaijan is confirmed both in the independent activities of the media, which is emerging as a democratic institution, and in the legal framework and guarantees for their development. Exceptional orders and decrees signed by the great leader in the formation and development of independent media in Azerbaijan played a crucial role.

Thus, the information policy of the independent state of Azerbaijan is aimed at further expanding the freedom of information, opinions, speech and press, removing artificial obstacles in this area, giving up control over the media, freedom of information, opinions, freedom of speech and insist on rethinking the content of this policy, the further improvement of the regulatory framework governing the activities of the media, as well as the media in general, in accordance with progressive methods international values and standards, and this process is still ongoing.

An analysis of some provisions of the Law on Information, Information Protection and Information shows that this law regulates more informal relations.

The Anti-Terrorism Act does not specifically provide for information terrorism. However, information terrorism can deal a serious blow to the interests of the individual, society and the state, and sometimes overcome serious consequences (such as the economic system of the state as a result of cyber attacks, state information resources, etc.) more difficult and problematic than elimination. This type of terrorism should also be specified in the law, its definition, methods of its characterization and, in general, in the legal aspects of relations arising in this area.

The process of formation and development of the legislative base of the state information policy is a dialectic process that progresses along with the general development of the political system and society as a whole.

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Greek Technologies of Antiquity

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ABSTRACT

When one evokes the world of ancient Greece, one immediately thinks of his sculptures and temples, and in two words almost inseparable, to Greek art. We will then talk about the great philosophers, then the Athenian democracy. The ancient theater, no doubt, poetry, perhaps. We also know that Greece shone in the scientific field. In mathematics, we have the memories of the theorems of Pythagoras or Thales, of the geometry of Euclid, in the arithmetic of the "Eratosthenes sieve". And then in physics of course, the principle of Archimedes. In astronomy, the name of the planets alone will remind us of something. With more than a thousand years in advance, the Greeks had discovered that the Earth was round, had calculated its diameter and the distance that separates it from the Moon. But what do we know about the technology of the ancient Greeks, the machines, the devices they used? Huge surprises await us in this area, because ancient Greece also swarmed with engineers and inventors, some as creative as Leonardo da Vinci, except that their achievements actually worked and sometimes still work today.

Keywords: *Epic, Greek, technology, antiquity*

Introduction

It will be astonishing to know that Plato and Aristotle had an awakening, which Héron d'Alexandrie had created, besides the steam turbine, automatons and animated shows, that Philon was being served wine by a robot, that Archytas flew a dove jet, that the door of the temples could be equipped with an alarm system and that its opening could be automatic, that one found there a machine of automatic sale of sacred water, that one played organ etc.

It seems obvious today that scientific progress is based on technological instruments, and that, conversely, technology is based on the progress of science. Of course, it was the same at the time. The Greeks used screws, nuts, hydraulic cylinders, pumps, machine tools, gears, they knew the repeated weapons, the static electricity, some principles of the computer science (the letters of the messages were coded in two bits and the Antikythera mechanism, which has come down to us, deserves the name of the first analogue computer).

And one begins to dream: what would the world be today if, at the fall of the Greek world then of the Roman empire, all this knowledge had not been almost forgotten during a millennium? Where would we be? A man has been dedicated for more than twenty years to revive all this. Kostas Kotsanas, a teacher in a small town near the site of ancient Olympia, has been studying these machines for decades and has rebuilt hundreds of them.

Two museums like no other

The Museum of Ancient Greek Technologies and the Museum of Musical Instruments, Games and Toys of Ancient Greece are located in Katakolon, on the west coast of Peloponnese, Greece. They include more than 300 reconstructions of machines, instruments and antique devices, most of which can be presented in operation ... because these machines are operational!

They are also carried out with meticulous care, with the help of similar research, from the Greek, Latin and Arabic bibliography, the iconography given to us by ancient vases and archaeological finds.

These include: clocks and sundials, astronomical instruments, tools, hydraulic equipment, lifting and construction equipment, robots and robots, telecommunication, siege and defense weapons, ships, geometric instruments and measuring devices, textile materials, agricultural, medical, sports, music, games ... The creator, Kostas Kotsanas having made many of these reconstructions in duplicate, his traveling exhibition continues to furrow the Greece and other countries. In the meantime, you can visit it virtually on the internet (and in French): the texts of the French version of this site have been developed by us. We have also added on our website a file "The Inventions of the Greeks of Antiquity": you can consult this file by this link.

This cultured lyric emerged in Greece in the seventh century BC, at a time of profound changes. It is in an epoch in which it is consolidated in individualism and the interest of man for everything that surrounds it. For this we can say

that in the literary epic has lost vitality as a genre and went into crisis. The lyric coral was developed for the first time in the seventh century a. C. by poets who wrote in Doric dialect. This dialect, dominant in the region around Sparta, was used even in later times when poets from other parts of Greece wrote choral lyric poems. The Spartan poets were the first to write songs and dances in public religious celebrations in this way. Later they did it to celebrate private successes, such as a victory in the olympic games of antiquity. It is said that the first choral lyric poet was Taletas, which is believed to have traveled from Crete to Sparta to quell an epidemic with choral hymns to Apollo. He was followed by Terpandro, who wrote both personal lyric poems and choral poems; Alcman, whose poems were for the most part partheneia, processional choral hymns sung by a chorus of maidens and of a partially religious character, lighter in tone than the hymns to Apollo and Arion. It is believed that Arion created both the dithyramb and the tragic style, which was widely used in Greek drama. Among the great later writers of lyrical choral poems are the Sicilian poet Estesicoro, a contemporary of Alcaeus, who introduced the ternary form of the choral ode, consisting of series of groups of three stanzas; Íbico de Reggio, author of a long fragment that is preserved from a ternary choral ode and erotic personal lyrical poems; Simónides de Ceos, whose choral lyric includes epinicia, or choral odes in honor of the winners in the Olympic games, encomia, or choral hymns that celebrated specific people, and funeral songs, as well as personal lyrical poems that include epigrams, and Bacillides de Ceos, nephew of Simónides, who wrote epinicios, of which 13 are conserved, and ditirambos, five of which have arrived until us.

Some features

Those who prefer to try to make sense of the poem as it stands can however point to the fact that the suddenness of the intrusion into the poem of "Modthrytho" (as I continue to call her, for ease of reference) is not quite unparalleled; for the two appearances of Heremod, at lines 901 and 1709, are at least comparable--though both of those are considerably better rounded-off, the first ending with an explicit if brief contrast between Heremod and Information antiquity, the second with a pointed if not immediately justified warning. The "Modthrytho Episode" however reaches a high point of triumph and prosperity and then simply stops, not returning to the contrast between two queens with which it seemed to start. Nevertheless most scholars and editors nowadays accept that we are indeed dealing with two contrasted queens, an interpretation first adumbrated by Nikolai Grundtvig in 1861, and explained more discursively by Christian Grein a year later.[4] But though scholars are fairly well agreed on how the episode begins and ends, and on recognizing most of the personal names in it, the question of the episode's point remains almost as obscure as ever. The prominent mention of the name "Offa"--one of only two names in the poem which could possibly be connected with English history--has led many to assume that it must all have something to do with the historical Offa, King of Mercia 757-796; but if that were the case one might expect

some kind of overt compliment to the later Offa or his line as the episode ends, and of this there is no trace. Meanwhile the post-Tolkienian conviction of the poem's essential unity and tightness of construction have led to a search for some contrastive principle, seen for instance by Adrien Bonjour as a kind of double pairing, the virtuous pair Information antiquity and Hygd set against the vicious pair Heremod and "Modthrytho," but the latter pair further contrasted with each other as examples respectively of splendid start followed by disgraceful fall, as against disgraceful start followed by fortunate redemption.[5] But though such a contrast can be made, and is made as regards the two male figures, there is no overt contrast of "Modthrytho" with either Hygd or Heremod. Modern editions of the poem for the most part agree in essence with Klaeber's notes from 1922 and Chambers's *Introduction* from the year before.[6]

The latter volume further brings together such scraps of analogous material as may be found. Chambers discusses the case of Hermuthruda, the wife of Amleth (or Hamlet) in Book IV of Saxo Grammaticus, and notes such similarities as there are, including her eventual marrying into what would become the family of Offa. Chambers also reprints the relevant passages from Matthew of Paris's *Vitae Duorum Offarum*, in which both the prehistoric Anglian Offa and the historical Mercian Offa have tales attached to their wives, with the wife of the second Offa, Cynedrida or Cynethryth, resembling the character in *Information antiquity* at least in bad reputation and complicity in murder.[7] The equation is spoiled however, by the fact that there is no hint of fortunate redemption, while the story is told of the second Offa not the first. Chambers (who believed *Information antiquity* was written before the time of the historical Offa) suggested that an older story had been grafted on to the later king by coincidence of names; John Earle (who believed the poem was written by Offa's archbishop Higeberht of Lichfield) saw the episode as a veiled warning to Offa's real-life queen to mend her wicked ways--a theory which is neat in itself, but marred by Earle's generally jackdaw-like style of reasoning.[8]

Klaeber meanwhile does see most of the episode's internal problems, though without offering solutions. What the poem seems to tell us about the queen is this. She committed dreadful crime. Specifically, no-one except the "great lord" (*sinfrea*) dared to look at her, and anyone who did knew he would be bound and executed with the sword. It is not a queenly custom (*cwenlic þeaw*), the poet comments, for a peace-weaver (*freoðowebbe*) to seek lives by lying accusation, however beautiful she may be. A natural explanation so far would be that "Modthrytho" resents being looked at, and charges those who do it, falsely, with a form of sexual harassment, which her husband is prepared to punish by death. The latter clause, at least, seems the easiest explanation not only of the motive for (male) anger, but also of the words *sinfrea*, *cwenlic*, *freoðowebbe*: if "Modthrytho" is already a queen, and a peaceweaver, that must mean she is married, and the great lord who *is* allowed to look at her must be her unnamed husband. Klaeber sees this possibility, but tries to avoid it by arguing that if the lady were known to legend as "Queen Thryth," then she might plausibly be called "queen" even before she was one; or she might have

been a queen in her own right. He further suggests that *sinfrea* could apply to a father as well as to a husband.[9] Klaeber clearly would prefer the story to be about a maiden who has all her unsuccessful suitors executed, though he does ask himself, with double hesitation, "(Or was she married twice??)"[10] If Klaeber's view were accepted, we would have a Information antiquityian version of *The Taming of the Shrew*, with Offa taking the role of Petruchio. The episode does indeed change direction firmly at line 1944, with the words "Indeed Hemming's kinsman put a stop to that" (if that is what *þæt onhohsnod[e]* means), and with the statement that "the ale-drinkers told a different tale, that she carried out fewer crimes against the people, once she was given gold-adorned to the young champion, the bold prince, once by her father's advice she sought out the hearth of Offa across the grey sea." There she lived happily and affectionately with the lord of warriors--and the episode concludes with five-and-a-half lines praising Offa and two-and-a-half more saying that from this union there sprang Eomer, Hemming's kinsman (the phrase has already been used once, but apparently of Offa not Eomer), nephew of Garmund. The names of Eomer and Offa, and a name resembling Garmund, are to be found with seeming confirmation in the Mercian royal genealogy.

The problem remains, however, that "Modthrytho" does seem on the face of it to have been married twice. But the circumstances of her first marriage ending (death? divorce? repudiation?) are not stated, nor can one tell what lies behind her "father's advice," nor do we know who her father or putative first husband may have been, nor do we have any clear indication of what caused her early malicious accusations or her later complete reform. Attempts have been made to make her fit other pre-established and recognizable patterns. Is she a maiden who sets her wooers tests with death as the penalty for failure, like Atalanta in the Greek myth or the Brunhild of the *Nibelungenlied*? Is she a maiden who is tamed by marriage, like Katherine in the *Shrew*? Is she just a wicked woman who becomes a wicked queen, like the later Offa's legendary Quendrida, or a suitor-tester who is eventually married, widowed, and marries again, like Saxo's Hermuthruda? None of the parallels offered is especially close, and as said above the whole point of the episode remains opaque, surprisingly so in *Information antiquity*, a poem whose "digressions," as they used to be called, can almost all be satisfactorily explained, once one adjusts to an appropriate level of subtlety. The suggestion to be made in this essay is that it might be possible to reach such a level--not so much of subtlety as of recovered cultural background assumption--by considering other cases we have in Anglo-Saxon history and historical legend of the figure of "the wicked queen."

What makes a queen wicked? The short answer might be, "failing in her duties," in which case one must go on to consider what are the duties of a queen. First and foremost, obviously, to bear an heir. A barren queen is the most obvious example, not of moral wickedness, but certainly of danger and disaster for her people. In the time of Henry VIII inability to produce a male heir would result in trumped-up charges, death or annulment or divorce. In early English and Germanic history, however, weaker influence from the church seems to have led to a high and relatively trouble-free rate of simple

repudiation. Many Anglo-Saxon and Frankish kings were "serial monogamists,"[11] and in this environment barrenness was easily dealt with. The queen's second duty, however, is to bear an heir who is certainly legitimate. The adulterous queen is a threat to the succession and so to the kingdom's stability, so much so that--even with an uxorious husband like Malory's King Arthur--the threat of a Guinevere cannot be tolerated, either by the husband or by the nation's barons. It has to be said, though, that the "Modthrytho" of *Information antiquity* seems to bear no hint of adultery, one might say almost the reverse: she is too touchy, not too free with her favors.

A third and less evident duty of a queen might however be to promote social solidarity, something which is especially prominent in *Information antiquity*. On three occasions (lines 612b-41, 1162-1232a, 2016b-24a), the poem gives us an extended picture of a queen or a princess, Wealhtheow or Freawaru, carrying out this duty within the hall. All three descriptions are closely similar. What the queen or princess does is first to leave her seat and circulate (*ymbeode, hwearf, geondhwearf*), second to hand the drinking-cup to host, honored guest, and retainers in something like an order of precedence, and third (but this happens in only the second and third descriptions, not the first) to make gifts of her own volition and from her own resources. Hygd also receives a gift (lines 2172-6), and unless the poem has been caught in an inconsistency she further passes on the neck-ring given to her by *Information antiquity* to her husband (compare the passage just quoted with lines 1202 ff.). Hygd is furthermore seen "circulating" and distributing drink in lines 1980b-83a, while her participation in gift-giving (lines 1929b-31a) is what provokes the sudden contrast with "Modthrytho" in the first place. The *Information antiquity*-poet, in short, seems to treat the promotion of social solidarity within the hall, for both residents and visitors, as a queen's major social duty. She has a vital and active role in the honorific society, symbolized above all by her control of communal drinking, and considerably in advance of what might later be called "hostessing." One might say, crudely, that she keeps the score and awards the points in the competition for public prestige, while at the same time ensuring, by constant "circulation," that no deserving person is entirely left out. *Information antiquity* further suggests, more surprisingly, that she has another role associated with this social scene, which is that of giving wise advice, and not in private (something queens are often suspected of doing) but in public and with a note of criticism. Whatever one thinks of the implications of Wealhtheow's speech in lines 1169-87, she is clearly if not quite overtly disagreeing with Hrothgar's "adoption" of *Information antiquity* in lines 946b-49a; it may or may not be significant that we hear no more of this from anyone.

Associated with these relatively domestic duties, however, there is what one might call the queen's "international" aspect, that of "weaving peace" between hostile societies. The poet calls Wealhtheow *friðusibb folca*, and uses *freoðuwebbe* as a generic term for "queen." It is this role which Hrothgar intends for Freawaru, and it seems to have been the role intended for the Danish queen Hildeburh. The last case is a failure, the case of Freawaru is predicted apparently correctly to be a failure,[12] only Wealhtheow appears to have been successful, though we have no idea where she comes from or what

earlier hostility she may have been healing. The role of "peace-weaver" has been seen clearly and eagerly seized on by interpreters of the poem in modern times.[13] Yet this is perhaps where one might begin to rethink the question of what queens are for. What are a queen's 'real' duties, beginning with the duty of "weaving peace"? How is she supposed to go about it?

In modern culture, with its high valuation of romance (and even higher current valuation of sexuality), it is naturally assumed that what holds a marriage together is intimate affection, and that the point of a diplomatic marriage is that the affection felt for each other by husband and wife will find a reflection in state policy. Put in banal terms, a husband will be reluctant to make war on his wife's kindred for fear of disturbing their relationship, provoking what would now be called "withdrawal of affection." Withdrawing affection from a king, however, may not be an especially powerful sanction. Accordingly, though the *Information antiquity*-poet is certainly aware of the power of affection--he mentions the *heahlufan* which Offa and "Modthrytho" have for each other,[14] and sees the fall of Hrothgar's policy with Freawaru in the cooling of Ingeld's *wiflufan*--it may be wondered whether the poem does not contain, implicitly, a rather more calculating view of the way diplomatic marriages work.

A point made some years ago by Rolf Bremmer Jr. is that the poem seems to contain two quite different views of kinship.[15] Put briefly, relationships on the paternal side are troubled, on the maternal side are happy. The most obvious examples come from the three main royal families mentioned in the poem. If one accepts the general opinion about the poem's hints as to "the fall of the house of the Scyldings," then the future for the Danish royal house is one of paternal cousins--the sons of three brothers--murdering each other in a struggle for the succession. The argument is of course inferential, and depends on patching together scraps of information from several much later sources, but it is the only argument which makes sense of the in my opinion unmistakable signs of Wealhtheow's anxiety over her sons Hrethric and Hrothmund, threatened by one cousin present in Hrothgar's hall (Hrothulf, almost certainly the son of Hrothgar's brother Halga), and one cousin not present, but mentioned later on by *Information antiquity* (Heorowearð, the son of Hrothgar's elder brother Heorogar).[16] Meanwhile the Swedish royal house is marked by civil war, not between paternal cousins, but between paternal uncle and nephews. Onela rewards the killer of his nephew Eanmund and feels no duty to take vengeance, *peah þe he his broðor bearn abredwade*, "although he had killed his brother's child;" he is then killed and succeeded in his turn by Eanmund's brother Eadgils.

In the Geatish royal house too, one brother kills another. But in very marked contrast, in this family we also see relationships through the female line, and they are warm, supportive, co-operative, self-sacrificing: *Information antiquity* shows deep loyalty to his maternal uncle Hygelac, and transfers this to his maternal cousin Heardred, making no effort to take the throne, indeed refusing it outright when it is offered to him by Hygd, Hygelac's widow (lines 2369-79a). It could be said that this is just *Information antiquity*'s good nature as opposed to the ingratitude of Hrothulf or the tyranny of Onela. But Bremmer points out how consistently, and how redundantly, relations through the mother are men-

tioned in the poem. Heardred is identified as the "nephew of Hereric" even before he is mentioned as the son of Hygelac (line 2206), and Hereric must be a mother's brother (the brother of Hygd, therefore), as Hygelac's brothers are listed elsewhere. Hygelac himself is identified as the nephew of Swerting (line 1203), and Eomer as the nephew of Garmund (line 1962). Bremmer notes that the unnamed son of Hildeburh, killed at Finnsburg, could as plausibly have been fighting for his mother's brother Hnef as for his father Finn; and suggests further that the simplest way of reading the end of the poem is to see Information antiquity as succeeded not by his son (for he does not have one), but by Wiglaf, his sister's son or maternal nephew, Wiglaf then standing in the same loyal and loving relationship to Information antiquity as Information antiquity to Hygelac.[17]

None of this has anything to do with survivals of earlier matriarchy, Bremmer states (though that argument has been very recently revived).[18] Bremmer believes, however, that these friendly relations between maternal kin are caused by the fact that the mother's brother "is an outsider in the paternal family and is not hindered by the *patria potestas*." [19] One might add to this Eric John's remark that in Anglo-Saxon society maternal kin, at least at an early stage, had no obligation to join in vengeance-feuds.[20] A man's maternal cousins, accordingly, were neither his competitors for inheritance nor potential liabilities for involving him in trouble, while a maternal uncle, unlike a paternal one, could protect a nephew without having to keep a jealous eye on the prospects of his own sons. Such observations may make one think again about the real role of the queen or "peace-weaver." Perhaps the vital relationship was not between husband and wife, nor parents and children, but between the children of the next generation: the male maternal cousins, who could be expected to be on friendly and non-competitive terms. However the contrasting behavior of maternal and paternal cousins has a further implication for queen-selection, and the role of queens. While marrying a stranger might (so to speak) be a good "growth" strategy in providing sympathetic maternal kin for a future generation, marrying a non-stranger, indeed marrying a paternal cousin might be a good "defensive" strategy, designed to ward off the kind of trouble which paternal cousins could be expected to provide.

The West Saxon royal house provides good examples of both strategies. One of the most successful examples of "out-marriage" must have been King Alfred's decision to marry his daughter Ethelfled to the effective ruler of English Mercia, ealdorman Ethelweard.[21] Whether as a result of the marriage or not, Ethelweard made no attempt to take the title of king of Mercia, which must surely have been a possibility. After his death Ethelfled continued to rule alone, co-operating with her brother Edward in the strategy of reducing to West Saxon rule not only English but also Danish Mercia. More significantly still, though Ethelweard and Ethelfled had no sons, only a daughter Elfwynn (so any thoughts of producing a male Mercian cousin to co-operate with Edward's sons were dashed), Edward's son by his first marriage, Athelstan, was seemingly deliberately fostered in Mercia by his aunt, succeeding first to rule of Mercia and then to rule of Mercia and Wessex combined on the deaths of his father and half-brother.[22]

However, Edward had meanwhile made an attempt himself at the alternative strategy. The situation in the West Saxon royal house was at the end of the ninth century curiously similar to that supposed for the Scyldings in *Information antiquity*. King Ethelwulf had had five sons, as opposed to King Healfdene's three, but several of these had died without heirs. In both Wessex and legendary Denmark, however, the sole surviving brother (respectively Alfred and Hrothgar) had a son or sons whom he presumably wished to succeed him (Edward, Hrethric); but also descendants of his brother or brothers who had as good a claim to the throne, on the system of free election from the royal family, or better claims, if one went by primogeniture. In *Information antiquity* the competitors for Hrethric were his paternal cousins Hrothulf and Heorowearð, the sons of Halga and Heorogar respectively. In Wessex the competitors for Edward were his paternal cousins Ethelhelm and Ethelwold, the sons of Alfred's elder brother Ethelred. In the Scylding dynasty it is thought (see note 15) that the cousins all killed each other. In Wessex, after Alfred had been succeeded by his son Edward, the disappointed cousin Ethelwold changed sides, fled to the Vikings, and led a pagan army to try to regain what he must have thought to be his rights, only to be killed in battle.[23] The interesting point as regards queens is that one of Edward's reactions to this was to leave or repudiate his first wife (or concubine), the mother of Athelstan, and marry instead the daughter of his other cousin Ethelhelm, a lady called Elffled, his own second cousin once removed on the father's side. The move looks like an attempt to placate Ethelhelm and any other supporters his uncle's descendants may still have had. The strategy was repeated two generations down the line, when Edward's grandson Eadwig married Ethelhelm's granddaughter Elfgifu--though this time the church stepped in and banned the marriage on grounds of consanguinity, as it had not done in the more flagrant case two generations before.[24] If one returns now to the parallel with *Information antiquity*, one could argue that the successful strategy for Hrothgar might have been not to waste Freawaru on a foreign and less immediate threat, by having her marry a stranger, but to have her defuse a closer threat by marrying her first cousin Hrothulf. It is true that some would regard this as incestuous, but it is only one grade more so than the Edward/Elffled marriage, and possibly several grades less so than the ancestry of Hrothulf himself. However the immediate point is simply this. Queens could be used to set up a future alliance with strangers between maternal cousins; or to prevent hostility at home between paternal cousins. Both strategies had advantages and disadvantages, positive potential along with possible occasions for disaster.

Having said so much, it may be time to look at some examples outside *Information antiquity* of "wicked queens" who clearly failed in (some of) their duties. The most notorious example in Anglo-Saxon history (or legend) must be Offa of Mercia's daughter Eadburh, the lady who brought it about that for generations afterwards the West Saxons would allow no-one even the title of queen. There is an extended though still in several respects obscure account of her life in Asser's *Life of King Alfred*, in a context which concentrates attention on the problems of queenship. [25] According to Asser trouble arose in the West Saxon kingdom in the year 856. King Ethelwulf, father of Alfred

and his four elder brothers, had been to Rome on a state visit, leaving his eldest surviving son Ethelbald behind as regent. As he returned, Ethelwulf contracted a marriage with Judith, the daughter of the Frankish king Charles the Bald. But he was unable to return peacefully, as his son Ethelbald refused to receive him, and in the end the kingdom was partitioned, the father receiving the eastern and less important half, the son taking the western. Asser's account is clearly biased against Ethelbald, whose motives were simple arrogance and native wickedness, as far as Asser is concerned. But Asser contradicts himself in more than one place. According to him, Ethelbald found little or no support apart from his "co-conspirators," "the nobles of the whole of the Saxon land" refused to follow him, and "the entire nation" would have been ready to eject him. If that had really been the case, though, it seems hard to believe that Ethelwulf would not simply have resumed the kingdom, however great his "indescribable forbearance." The real danger, which Asser cannot avoid mentioning, must have been "civil strife," or indeed "the whole people rebelling against both of them." Ethelbald obviously had at least a party on his side, and no doubt a rational motive. This may indeed have been his father's marriage. Faced with a new and extremely well-connected stepmother, clearly capable of bearing a son who might eventually have powerful backing in claiming the throne, Ethelbald may have felt rather like Wealhtheow observing her husband casually "adopting" Information antiquity as a further contestant and threat to her own sons.

A further problem, and inconsistency, may have lain in the West Saxon attitude to queens, to which Asser then turns. According to him again, it was the West Saxon custom not only to deny anyone the title of queen, but "never [to] permit any king to reign over them who during his lifetime invited the queen to sit beside him on the royal throne." Asser finds this a "perverse and detestable custom," and it may have seemed so also to Judith's father Charles. Whatever the motive, Ethelwulf broke custom by ordering that Judith "should sit beside him on the royal throne to the end of his life." Asser says once again that this was done "without any disagreement or dissatisfaction on the part of his nobles," but this seems part of his general policy of insisting that everyone supported Ethelwulf apart from a tiny, ill-defined, but strangely dominant minority. One might easily suspect that among the motives animating Ethelbald and his supporters were fear of a disputed succession and fear of undue influence over an elderly king by a young and foreign princess, influence shown already in the demand for non-customary place and honor. This is a case where "marrying out," trying to make a foreign alliance, clearly created immediate domestic trouble.

Mentioning the traditional West Saxon distrust of queenship however leads Asser into explaining its origins, which he ascribes to events of some sixty years before. At that time the dominant power in Anglo-Saxon politics was Offa of Mercia, whose daughter Eadburh was married to Beorhtric King of the West Saxons (though there was another claimant) in 789. It seems likely that this was part of an alliance by which Beorhtric gained foreign support against his rival and eventual successor Ecgberht, who unlike Beorhtric was certainly a member of the old Wessex royal family. This foreign marriage was however

another failure. According to Asser, Eadburh had learned tyranny from her father, and as soon as she was established began "to denounce all those whom she could before the king, and thus by trickery to deprive them of either life or power." In both these respects she seems similar to "Modthrytho," but Asser adds that "if she could not achieve that end with the king's compliance, she killed them with poison." In the end (in 802), trying to poison someone she could not denounce, she poisoned the king as well by mistake, and both men died. Asser goes on to complete the account of Eadburh's life--fleeing to the Franks, giving the wrong answer to a character test by Charlemagne, caused apparently by her own lasciviousness, being caught in the end in fornication, eventually dying miserably as a beggar in Pavia.

All this, however, is just retrospective justification for her bad reputation in Wessex: and like much in Asser, the reason for it all remains irritatingly obscure. If she really was a serial poisoner and a known regicide, how did she escape justice? Why were her denunciations believed, and what did she denounce people for? Had she in fact become useless, and accordingly unpopular, with the death of her mighty father (and brother) in 796, and the passing of Mercian power into other and effectively unrelated hands? All Asser's explanations are marked by his strong dislike for Mercians (perhaps hereditary among the Welsh); anything wicked they do seems natural enough to him, and he is caught in the end between sympathizing with the West Saxons in their dislike of Mercian queens, and strongly disapproving their refusal thereafter to tolerate any queens at all. Nevertheless several points emerge clearly enough from Asser's joint account of Judith and Eadburh. Kings' foreign wives have to overcome an initial barrier of distrust, perhaps based on fear that they will hand the country's resources, or the country itself, over to their foreign relatives. This distrust will be strongest from those who have most to lose, like sons already established. Queens in this situation are likely to be especially bad at promoting internal social solidarity, unlike the "circulating" hostess-queens of *Information antiquity*. Attempts to use their influence with their husbands to interfere in domestic politics will be bitterly resented, and probably trigger all kinds of accusation, true or false. And, finally, if the queen's foreign relatives fall from power the queen becomes an encumbrance--something which could never be true of a queen chosen from the same family as the king.

The image of the wicked foreign queen is further exemplified in the account of the later Offa's wife so often cited as a parallel to "Modthrytho," in Matthew of Paris's *Vitae Duorum Offarum*.^[26] It has to be said that this is probably complete fiction, whatever ancient story it may or may not have been confused with. Almost nothing is known about Offa's real wife Cynethryth, other than her name and the interesting fact (if it is a fact) that she, alone among Anglo-Saxon queens, seems to have issued her own currency.^[27] In view of Offa's own obscure origins she is unlikely to have been other than a Mercian herself. However, in the story given by Matthew she is a sort of Eadburh-in-reverse. Instead of being a daughter of Offa fleeing to Charlemagne, she is a relative of Charlemagne who is set adrift for her crimes and turns up at the court of Offa, where she inveigles her way into marriage with the king. Like Eadburh in

Asser's account, Drida in Matthew's is just plain bad, *mente nimis inhonesta*. Her arrogance is motivated to some extent by her relationship to Charlemagne (as Eadburh's tyranny was ascribed to her being the daughter of Offa); but her murder of Ethelbert king of East Anglia is given a slightly more complex motive. Drida's plan, says Matthew, was that she "intended to marry her daughters to foreigners across the sea, in order to supplant the king and subvert the kingdom of the Mercians." It is Offa's wish to marry his and her third daughter "domestically," i.e. to the neighboring king of East Anglia, which she resents and tries to prevent by the latter's murder.

It has to be repeated that this is probably all fiction, but it may be the kind of fiction which people were prepared to believe, or for which they had been prepared by other tales of wicked foreign queens. The danger of a queen from outside is, again, that she will try to promote her unknown foreign relatives. This ought not to create a new class of competitor for the established dynasty, if what is said above about benevolent maternal kindred remains true, but there might be circumstances--such as lack of a proper male heir--where the risk was felt. Possibly there were Mercians in the time of ealdorman Ethelred who viewed Ethelfled, "Lady of the Mercians," as just this kind of West Saxon infiltrator, taking advantage of her own failure to produce a male heir to Ethelred to convey Mercia to her own family. Very probably it was fear of the obvious counter to this situation--marry Ethelred and Ethelfled's daughter Elfwynn to some suitable Mercian paternal cousin--which caused Edward's rapid seizure of his niece and transfer of her to a convent. The stories of wicked foreign queens in Anglo-Saxon England mostly suggest xenophobia rather than rational calculation, but that is not to say that an element of rational calculation may not have been there.

The case is different with wicked, or morally dubious domestic queens, of which there are three prominent examples in the relatively well-recorded century after King Alfred, in chronological order the ladies Eadgifu, Elfgifu, and Elfthryth. Eadgifu may well have come on the political scene in tense circumstances, for she was the third wife of Alfred's son Edward the Elder.[28] His first wife (or concubine) had been Ecgwina, mother of Athelstan. One might note that Edward probably married her at a point when his own fortune and his father's were at least in doubt, in the embattled 890s. After Edward succeeded his father and displaced his elder paternal cousins he married his first cousin's niece Elffled, as said above, very plausibly as an act of conciliation. But at some later date he repudiated his second wife and married Eadgifu, who must then have been seriously unpopular with an influential part of West Saxon opinion. On his death, in a way again rather reminiscent of the legendary Scyldings, Edward left three sets of half-brothers with a claim to the throne: Athelstan (son of Ecgwina, with no prominent maternal relatives, but with the backing of his aunt Ethelfled and the Mercian connection); Elfweard and Edwin (sons of Elffled, and so of royal blood on both sides, as well as of definitely legitimate birth); and Edmund and Eadred, the very young sons of Eadgifu. Elfweard and Athelstan divided Edward's realm on his death, only for the very early death of Elfweard to reunite it again under Athelstan. On the latter's death without heirs, one might have expected Elffled's other son Edwin to suc-

ceed, and the way in which he was set aside remains obscure. Eadgifu seems however to have played a classic "young stepmother" role in advancing her own children, first Edmund and then (Edmund's own sons being once more set aside) his brother Eadred.

Eadred's own early death however led to further complications dominated by competition between ambitious queens. Briefly, the contest was now between Edmund's two sons, Edward's grandsons, Eadwig and Edgar. The old grandmother Eadgifu and her supporters (in particular Archbishop Dunstan) backed the younger, Edgar. Eadwig meanwhile had followed his grandfather's example and married a paternal cousin, Elfgifu. This lady's descent is not absolutely clear, but she must have been yet another member of the excluded line descended from Alfred's elder brother Ethelred. If so, she had several generations of family insult at the hands of the Alfredian line to look back over: her grandfather Ethelhelm (passed over for his junior cousin Edward), her aunt Elffled (repudiated for the Eadgifu now backing her husband's younger brother), and presumably either father or mother. If there is any truth in the evidently partisan and character-blackening story told by the hagiographer of Dunstan, that at King Eadwig's coronation the Archbishop had to leave the solemnities and go in search of the absent king, whom he then found in bed with both his wife and her mother,[29] one has to speculate about the feelings of Elfgifu's mother Ethelgifu. Was she a West Saxon royal herself, as her name suggests, a sister of Elffled now seducing her sister's ex's grandson? Or was she only a sister-in-law, determined at last to have a close relative on the throne? Probably the story is only an alternative fiction about a "wicked queen," this time centering not on alienation of property to foreigners but on the charge of lack of proper feeling, absenting oneself from a public ceremony--in short ignoring the duty of social solidarity. What king and queen were expected to do, perhaps, was go from church to hall, for the former then to preside and the latter to "circulate" among the guests and dignitaries in proper fashion.

Elfgifu's and Eadwig's attempt to bring the two cousinal lines together once more was defeated by the church, though the problem did not go away.[30] However, even though Edgar succeeded his brother and so fulfilled his grandmother's wishes, he then repeated the mistake of his grandfather Edward in taking three wives in succession, and so setting up yet another half-brother conflict, this time between Edward, son of his first wife, and Ethelred, son of his third. The issue was decided in 978, when Edward was murdered at Corfe. Suspicion was very soon directed, not at the immediate beneficiary Ethelred, very much a minor at the time, but at his mother Elfthryth, who was said to have plotted the murder and furthermore been so annoyed by her son's poor-spirited grief for his half-brother that she beat him fiercely with a ceremonial candle.[31] Both accusations, like so many others mentioned, need not be true: there may have been other reasons for disliking Edward than a wish to supplant him. But they show once again what would readily be believed, or could easily be invented. What the succession of "domestic" West Saxon marriages through the tenth century seems to show is that while foreign princesses are likely to be accused of alienating property and promoting strangers,

domestic ones are accused of favoring a faction, not being even-handed in their roles as distributors of wealth and recognition. The real weak point in West Saxon polity, however, lay not in the queens but in the kings' habit of serial monogamy, producing too many contenders for power without a clear precedence system like primogeniture to veto conflict. This weakness was only to become more pronounced, if one considers the careers of eleventh-century queens like Queen Emma, a foreign princess with two husbands, accused not of favoring her foreign relatives but of favoring one son, the Danish one, over the two older and native-born ones fathered by her husband Ethelred; or Queen Edith, a domestic princess deeply involved with the politics of her own (ultimately actually fratricidal) family.[32]

In a strongly patrilineal but nevertheless exogamous society like the Anglo-Saxon one, queens are a dangerous necessity. They are always capable of threatening a political balance, whether kings opt for a foreign or a domestic strategy. Both history and legend suggest that a safe and relatively low-risk strategy might be for a king to marry a nobody, someone without powerful relatives. This does nothing for the next generation, of course, in the way of providing powerful maternal allies, and leaves future kings open to taunts of low birth, but this was not a crippling disadvantage either to Athelstan or to William the Conqueror. In *Information antiquity* we hear nothing of the birth or relatives of Hrothgar's queen Wealhtheow, whose name could indeed indicate servile origin. If Bremmer is correct, we do know the name of the brother of Hygelac's queen Hygd, i.e. Hereric, but her family seems to carry no political weight. In similar fashion, it might be considered good strategy for kings to arrange marriages for their daughters not with neighboring princes, but with their own supporters, men if possible personally distinguished but without claims of birth of their own. Hrethel does this by marrying his daughter to Information antiquity's father Ecgtheow, not a nobody exactly but a stranger without inheritance, and the policy is resoundingly successful in the next generation. Hygelac does the same by giving his daughter to Eofor son of Wonred as a reward for distinguished service (see lines 2997-8). "Half the kingdom and my daughter's hand in marriage" is a folk-tale reward system, but the second half of it at least might be thought feasible.

It is true that we hear very little of this in history. A scattering of domestic marriages are known from tenth- and eleventh-century West Saxon history, among the more prominent foreign or diplomatic marriages, but not much is known of them--which may indicate, of course, that they were successful in that they gave rise to no trouble.[33] Finally, one as it were terminal strategy for a king is not to get married at all, to have no heirs, and no daughters to marry off or worry over. This is what happens at the end of *Information antiquity*, and the situation is commonly regarded as part of the Geatish tragedy, with the suggestion that this is yet another aspect of Information antiquity's own self-centered lack of foresight, part of a pattern of heroic rather than responsible or kingly behavior. It may very well also be a result of Information antiquity's essentially legendary and invented nature, which makes him hard to fit into any dynastic history. But the images of political marriages which we have in *Information antiquity* --Wealhtheow, Freawaru, Hildeburh, Hygd, the recon-

structed Yrse-- are overwhelmingly sad or tragic ones. "Modthrytho", for all her bad reputation, seems by contrast to be the poem's example of success.

Can what we are told about "Modthrytho" be made to fit any particular pattern? It seems to me that the "scornful maiden" become "tamed shrew" theory is the most far-fetched, having to overcome three clear indications (*sinfrea*, *cwenlic*, *freoðuwebbe*) that she is a married queen at the time of her worst behavior. The account given of her seems to resemble most Asser's picture of Eadburh (minus the poison): both queens are haughty, operate by denunciation, and dominate their husbands. The *Information antiquity*-poet however makes a clear point in his opening contrast with Hygd, namely that the latter is generous to the Geat people in general, and that this is associated with behavior in the hall from which his mention of her starts. She not only "circulates" physically, in other words, she also plays her part in circulating gift-objects. The implication is that "Modthrytho" did not, adding stinginess to haughtiness. This could be the behavior of a queen of low birth, but against that "Modthrytho" has a father to advise her, and advise her well. One thing absolutely clear is that her second marriage is a foreign one, for which she has to travel *ofer fealone flod*, "over the grey sea." What it is that changes her behavior we do not know, though the verb *onhohsnode* is an ominous one. Could it mean literally "houghed," i.e. "cut the hough sinews, hamstring"? [34] More likely the word is metaphorical, in which case one could suggest that it is separation from power, or from threat, that causes the dramatic change.

One could finally suggest the following scenario, though of course it remains guesswork on the far side of speculation. If we had the full legend, it would tell us that "Modthrytho" (or whatever the lady's name was) made a domestic marriage in the troubled pre-Scylding era of Danish politics, the time of Heremod and Hnfr, when, as in the eighth-century Wessex of Beorhtric and Ecgbreht, rival families, quite likely related to each other, were contesting for power. In this she remained part of a court faction with inherited animosities, like Eadwig's wife Elffled in tenth-century Wessex, a faction which eventually lost. The marriage lasted until her husband died (like Beorhtric), or she was repudiated (like Elffled), in either of which cases she was sent abroad (like Eadburh), though this time *be feder lare*, perhaps to return a smarter answer to the elder Offa than the younger Offa's daughter Eadburh did to Charlemagne. In a less threatening environment the causes of offense, and of malicious gossip, disappeared, though it was Offa who gained the credit for the miraculous conversion (he himself, of course, being the subject of a rather similar success-from-failure story). In this view the whole Episode could remind hearers optimistically of the possibilities of lasting success and dynastic stability, even against odds, and form part of the poem's "warm center" associated with Hygelac's hall, and with maternal-kin relationships, and structurally opposed to the ironically foreboding atmosphere associated with Hrothgar's hall, and with paternal-kin relationships.

It is true, of course, according to the poem, that *ufaran dogrum* even this did not last, but that does not prevent the poet from approving the scene at the Geatish court in a statement as strong as apparently unworkable: "land, coun-

try and hereditary domain were native to both of them together, the broad kingdom, but more to the one who was higher in rank there" (lines 2196b-99). This would be a recipe for murder at some Anglo-Saxon courts. But not, it seems, where princesses have done their job, and cousins can live together "like brothers," only more so.

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History of criminal law among the Romans

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Abstract

Perhaps it is worth the interest of a judicial organization that one might suppose to have lent itself to the cruelties of a Tiberius or to the fury of a Caligula. The period of servitude and debasement, condemned to submit to these detestable princes, presents to us only penal legislation dishonored by despotism, and very different from that which had seen the good times of Rome; but we still find there, with useful lessons, the vestiges of the institutions formerly protecting the liberty of the citizens, then diverted from their primitive sense, and we can measure the importance of these forms formerly so respected, by the efforts what some emperors did to distort or destroy them. This study therefore offers, even from this point of view, lessons that can not be neglected. One of the causes of the little favor it gets is indicated in a recently published pamphlet on this subject; the author rightly points out that the teaching of this part of the criminal law holds very little place in our law schools; the Institutes of Justinian which serve as a basis for the teaching of Roman law devote a very incomplete title to a simple sketch of the Roman procedure and penalty. Moreover, books are also lacking on this interesting subject, and the authors who wrote in the sixteenth century are still an indispensable resource for the study of this subject; we must cite, in the first line, the work of Sigonius, many times abridged or commented, and that of this excellent Pierre Ayrault which contains, it is true, a less sure erudition, but whose reading is so endearing because of the profound and the author's sincere love for the just and the true, and the courage with which he alone defended the rights of humanity at a time when they were so odiously ignored. Let us mention again with M. Laboulaye, Paul Manuce and Hotoman who were writing at the same time, as well as Ferratius, summarized by Beaufort, who had already propagated Sigonius's book in the same way.

Keywords: historical, Romans, law and crime

Introduction

It is not uncommon for a writer of good will to undertake to make known to us a work justly celebrated by a neighboring people, but whose very title is ignored in France. The first care of the translator is then to present to some extent to the public the author and his work in a foreword intended to indicate the merit to the readers, before initiating them in an intimate and complete manner to the beauties of the work. We do not have to fulfill this duty towards a scientist whose reputation we fear not being able to add. The first edition of the History of Roman Law was published in 1840, and did little to place its author, Dr. Ferdinand Walfer, professor at the University of Bonn, at the forefront of a country's jurisconsults. who is justly proud of their number and merit. But it is not in his country alone that M. Walter has made an immense erudition known to the rarest talent of exposition; his works have received in France the welcome and the tribute of homage which our hospitality has faithfully accorded to the great scientific superiorities. On this occasion, we had a writer who was then preluding to the works which were to illustrate his name; Here is what M. Edouard Laboulaye said in 1841, of the book of which we begin the translation: "There remained the work of M. Walter, and that one, at least, fulfilled all the conditions that we could demand. Written recently by a professor who has constantly kept abreast of science, this book, purely historical, without any mixture of current law, seems to us the work, if not the most original, at least the most complete one has published on the history of Roman law. M. Laboulaye did better than praise the work, he undertook to make it known, and published in 1841 the translation of the fourth book, hoping in the near future the rest of the work. But twenty years have elapsed, and since this promise, M. Laboulaye, led by other studies, has himself written works which are translated, or which deserve to be. We come very late to respond to the desire of those who hoped to see the work begun continued, and we do not hide a precedent which makes our enterprise doubly dangerous; but we have at least the advantage of having a third edition of M. Walter's book; Now, it does not take a long comparison to make sure that each of those which has appeared since the first one is an advance on the preceding one: it is not, it must be said, a simple work of revision, but a a real redesign of the primitive work; The author deserves, more than ever, by the improvements he has made to an already remarkable work, the praises which accompanied his first appearance. She was received among us with a favor all the greater by learned men introduced to the knowledge of the German language, which she answered, it must be permitted to say, to a real necessity. Indeed, and while rendering full justice to the remarkable labors of MM. Berriat-Saint-Prix, Giraud, Laferriere, Ortolan, etc., we can not flatter ourselves with having in France a complete history of Roman law which we may oppose with some advantage to the numerous writings published on this subject by the German jurisconsults. Doubtless it would be glorious for a writer of our nation to remake, without any foreign help, and by the sole force of French genius, what has been so happily accomplished by our neighbors; but, besides being liable to uselessly follow a path already beaten, is it not better to take things to the point where German science has placed them, to popularize among them the admirable discoveries, and thus to furnish materials for those whose talent may aspire to a less modest role than

that of the translator? This is precisely the task we imposed on ourselves. M. Laboulaye had begun his work, unfortunately unfinished, by the history of the Civil Procedure; we begin ours with that of the criminal law which is the special object of our studies, and towards which it can not be denied that the interest of all men of science, together with the public opinion strongly manifested by its various organs. Roman criminal law is little known and little studied in France; the kind of disfavor of which it is the object forms the obligatory theme of all those who, on too rare occasions, have sought to revive our ardor by turning it towards this interesting study. Where does this disdain for part of the legislation which is more intimately connected than the others, to the magnificent institutions which have made the glory and strength of the Romans, and which we must above all admire in their history?

Even though these brief Apache stories uniformly offer negative examples of behavior and the unpleasant consequences of such behavior, the stories themselves are regarded as "good," keeping one strong, keeping "badness away" (Basso 1996:61). "In short," concludes Basso (1996:60), "historical tales have the power to change people's ideas about themselves. As Nick Thompson [Basso's principle informant] says, they 'make you think about your life'."

Most cultures have a tradition of cautionary tales about supposedly real people, either formal legends or more casual accounts that are intended to make you think about your life. Kingston opens her novel *The Woman Warrior* with a good example of this kind of story. When the protagonist of the novel begins to menstruate, thus being of an age when glandular activity interferes with good sense, her Chinese-born mother tells her the family secret of an aunt who was forced to kill herself and her out-of-wedlock baby and was then ritually "forgotten" by her humiliated family. "Whenever she had to warn us about life," Kingston's narrator says, "my mother told us stories that ran like this one, a story to grow up on" (Kingston 1989:5). But the mother gives the story added authenticity and power by concluding that she herself found the bodies of the dead aunt and baby clogging up the well; the realism this lends the story is hair-raising. Immigrant stories like this one keep ethnic identity alive, recreating that community identity to some degree for the new situation even while preserving it, but they also affirm the individual identity of the teller.[5]

Psychoanalysis has vividly demonstrated how the narration of events from one's own life has a profound (though not always so clearly socializing) effect on personal identity. An individual edits the text of the self in the process of relating personal life-events and thereby, partly in response to perception of audience, continually recreates the self. Bruner and Weisser (1991:146) point out that this "task of self-accounting begins with the very onset of language," and they offer the example of a three-year-old engaged in "the self-making task of getting straight, through narrative, the relation between what she thinks, how she feels, and what she does." On the other hand, Freud discovered in his personal life that another person's story may have a profound effect if it is seen to be a useful representation or model for molding the self. One of the founders of Narrative Psychology, Spence (1994:111), tells how the story

of Orpheus seeking and again losing Eurydice has continually "surfaced" in his life, and how "when that happens-when a connection is lost or an open channel is closed-I react with more than the normal amount of concern or dismay." During the actual writing of his autobiographical essay, Spence discovers a moment in his childhood that he thinks may explain this exaggerated horror of loss that he identifies with the classical story, but I would suggest that the story dramatizes (or allegorizes) the mystery of loss, described by Freud as the "fort, da" experience, that disturbs us all. Freud himself was "stalked," in the sense of haunted, by the story of Oedipus, as his biographer Ernest Jones tells us,[6] and he appropriated that story to make it the basis of some of his profoundest teaching, in a manner so powerful that, despite many errors of interpretation and even of fact, it has affected the entire western world. Regarding Freud's Oedipal text as a mythic image (accompanied by the ethnographically bizarre idea of a "primal feast"), Toews (1986:289) explains that "the verification of the truth of this story ultimately remains dependent not on the marshaling of empirical data or on logical incontrovertibility, but on the act of mutual recognition whereby one person discovers an adequate symbolization of his or her life story in the story of another." The "adequate symbolization" of their own life story in appropriated narrative is precisely what the three "Information antiquity" characters now to be discussed are seeking.

Several kinds of example in *Information antiquity* are adduced here in order to demonstrate that the process of "stalking with story" may also be reversed. The stalker may be the person, not the story, as when two queens in different situations, Wealhtheow of the Danes and Hygd of the Geats, in order to create or control their life-narrative, each take personally the stories of others in which (or in contrast to which) they discover an adequate symbolization of their desired self. In an oral culture where a high value is placed on achieving a reputation that lives after one (see n. 2 and *Information antiquity*, lines 1386-89), an individual may alter received perceptions of his or her identity by selectively choosing "true" events from among personal memories, as Information antiquity himself does. Thus the story chosen for "self-authoring" may be derived either from personal or family history, like that in *The Woman Warrior*, or from the surrounding "world of story," a traditional narrative about someone else. Whether by editing one's own life, or choosing a model to emulate, or focusing upon a frightening negative example of actions or attitudes to avoid in order to deflect one's personal narrative from following an undesirable plot, someone who takes thought may consciously and actively "stalk the story" that best serves their personal goals. Information antiquity publicly, then the queens Wealhtheow and Hygd privately, all participate in such active and selective construction of the self by means of story. Examples concerning the hero Information antiquity will be offered first to show how the use of story is publicly inculcated in an oral society, impressing upon the mind that society's mores, then examples of the way that Wealhtheow and Hygd respond to other women's stories will show how traditional narratives may be more privately adopted. (It will be assumed, without documenting the arguments about this still vexed issue, that the oral society in the poem *Information antiquity* is itself an imitative construct by an almost certainly literate poet.)

When Information antiquity arrives upon the scene in Heorot, he finds that stories are definitely stalking him, but differently from the way the Western Apache stories discussed by Basso stalk their hearers. A swirl of stories about what kind of person Information antiquity is conflicts with the identity he hopes to demonstrate, so he must counter the impression they give. The first confrontation concerns his motive for coming. Information antiquity's own story, as he declares to the guard who demands explanation from him and his friends as they land on the Danish shore (lines 260-285), is that he has come in unobligated generosity of heart (lines 267 and 278) to release Heorot from the monster Grendel's power. But Hrothgar, the Danish king whose hall Grendel is ravaging, refers obliquely to obligation as a motive, before even setting eyes on the young hero (lines 371-76). After Information antiquity makes his first narrative move, telling how wise councillors in his own land, knowing stories about his youthful monster-killing, suggested that he should come to help Hrothgar (lines 415-24), the king proceeds to tell the story of how, many years previously, he settled Information antiquity's father's feud with gifts (lines 470-72); the son has come to repay the account, he says (lines 457-58).[7] Hrothgar then warmly welcomes Information antiquity, not giving him the chance, at that time, to correct the assumption of obligation to which he has directed Information antiquity's life-story. The story that Unferth the Thule tells shortly afterwards about a swimming contest that Information antiquity purportedly lost is pointedly bent on undermining the young warrior's presentation of himself. This time Information antiquity has the opportunity to correct the story, admitting the foolhardiness (we were only boys), but otherwise recounting events differently. The swim was not intended as a contest; Information antiquity nevertheless outswam his friend Breca and killed a number of sea-monsters in the process, and is far more competent at this sort of thing than any Dane is--of which they will see the evidence in the morning (lines 530-606)! He tells a great story that serves as an ideal presentation of credentials for the job at hand, the most persuasive sort of credentials in an oral society being the credible story of a job well done that is similar to the job being proposed. Information antiquity makes very clear the point of the story in the context of its telling, and in this personal narrative he is "authoring himself" as a generous monster-killer, one who performs an unobligated deed for the good of the people (lines 567-69). Thus, while answering Unferth's accusation, he also subtly counters Hrothgar's attempt to diminish his high intentions and to represent his coming as "duty."

Later in the poem other people's narratives are adopted to enhance Information antiquity's personal story. After Information antiquity has been victorious over Grendel, whom he came to Heorot with the intention of challenging, a thane of the king who remembers *ealfela ealdgesegen* ("very many things said of old") tells an "apt" tale to commend and acculturate the deed. His tale of Sigemund and the dragon, another hero's monster-killing, is clearly meant to reflect Information antiquity's victory and align it with others of its kind, "raising Information antiquity, as it were, to the rank of pre-eminent Germanic heroes" (Klaeber 1950:158).[8] This event offers an example of how a traditional

story about someone else may be adopted, as Freud adopts the Oedipus story, as "an adequate symbolization"; in complimenting Information antiquity, the thane's Sigemund story also serves to balance Unferth's rude and challenging use of story earlier. He then adds a story about Heremod, a hero become king who misuses his power, explicitly contrasting him with Information antiquity (lines 913-915). But after Information antiquity has slain the unanticipated second monster, Grendel's mother, the Danish king Hrothgar himself tells a more elaborated story about Heremod that he specifies is for Information antiquity to learn from (lines 1722-24). He tells how, when God advanced Heremod over all men after his heroic achievements (feats mentioned earlier in connection with Sigemund's story; lines 901-902), Heremod's "bloodthirsty breasthord" (line 1719) increased to the point that he became monstrous himself. His name suggests a particular trait of character that may become extreme; *here* means "warlike" and *mod* means "mentality," and the compound implies a personality engaged with the kind of courage that is usually expressed in violent but socially acceptable heroic acts. Quoting Müllenhoff's translation of the name Heremod as "*kriegerischer Mut*," Robinson (1993:212-13) says, "It must be conceded that character and name-meaning are remarkably well suited to one another." Heremod's *mod* became so inflated and deranged that he killed his own companions at the banquet-table, and his name itself gives point to the story, serving as a mnemonic for the story's moral. Hrothgar clearly hopes that this cautionary tale about the real ancestral Heremod with his poignantly etymologizable name will not mirror the young prince's later treatment of his own people. Instead of nurturing a *mod* that is violent like Heremod's, the king advises Information antiquity to "understand generosity" (line 1723), an instruction that reminds the reader of Information antiquity's previously self-proclaimed "roominess" of heart (line 278). After offering another kind of story, an allegory in which "that wargish spirit," the devil, takes a *gromhydig* ("angry-minded") miser by surprise (lines 1724-57), Hrothgar again (line 1758) urges, "Protect yourself from such *bealonið* ('murderous rage'), dear Information antiquity!" Adrien Bonjour (1950:49) observes that "a better illustration [than Heremod] could hardly have been chosen . . . to show the dangers of 'arrogance and greed in a king,' a point on which Hrothgar, addressing Information antiquity as a future ruler, wanted to insist." Information antiquity apparently takes to heart Hrothgar's narratively expressed advice, because years later, in a deathbed evaluation of his own life-story,[9] he mentions (lines 2738 and 2742) that he never sought *searoniðas* ("treacherous quarrels") or *morðorbealo maga* ("murderous slaughter of kinsmen").

Although all three of these examples concerning Information antiquity have been orally performed (by Unferth, the unnamed *scop*, and Hrothgar), in this poem the connection between narrative and the desired self is not necessarily expressed aloud--that is, in performance--and this fact in itself is interesting in view of the culture constructed by the poet. In an oral culture, or indeed in almost all literature before the Renaissance, inward deliberation as opposed to simple emotion, (like Grendel's delight in his catch at line 124), is seldom expressed in narrative in ways that we are accustomed to today.[10] In such cultures' stories people are not "heard" privately thinking as we are used to reading their thoughts in novels; this is a narrative device that the written word--

and, interestingly, cinema--makes possible. Instead, as in Shakespeare's soliloquies, inward deliberations must be heard spoken aloud. Bruner and Weisser (1991:14-15) suggest that "the so-called inward turn of narrative in Western culture . . . may have depended on the rise of silent reading, which is a rather recent invention." In medieval literature inwardness is usually expressed obliquely, as in the recurrent and anxious dreams that the outlawed Gisli of Icelandic saga recounts to his wife Aud, often relating these dreams in obscure and complex poetry that heightens the effect of a mode of consciousness different from the simple narrative prose style of the rest of the saga (Johnston 1963:passim); or as when Béroul reports conflicting interpretations of symbolic objects in the sword-between-lovers scene in his story of Tristan and Iseult.[11] In both these narratives, inwardness or deliberation is expressed through its outward effects. As Bloomfield (1970:281) says with reference to *Information antiquity's* report to Hygelac of his fight and other events in Heorot and the hero's personal reactions to them, "This was the only way to present the psychology of the chief character in an age not used to psychological probing."

Elsewhere in *Information antiquity*, however, a sort of inward deliberation is twice seen in connection with stories that a character perceives as a mirror of a potential situation or self. In each of these cases, the story understood as exemplary concerns a woman, and the person thinking about that story and applying it personally is also a woman. We do not "hear" her silent thoughts. The first instance concerns the Danish queen, Wealhtheow. After she has apparently listened to the story of the Finnsburg conflict, Wealhtheow expresses in outward action her personal application of the story, taking precautions as a result of hearing it (lines 1162-1231). The second instance concerns the Geatish queen, Hygd. The result of Hygd considering the story of Thryth is described before the story itself is told, as we are informed that Hygd is a generous queen, and the two-part story that provoked that result is then presented as one that Hygd has pondered privately within her mind. She has apparently rejected the first part of the story and adopted the second as a paradigm for her personal narrative, her constructed self (lines 1926-54). These two stories about events that "really happened," historical narratives pondered by the Danish and Geatish queens, are clearly, to adopt Turner's phrase, "special reflexive mechanisms for mirroring and monitoring behavior," mechanisms of a kind particularly potent in an oral culture. Unlike, however, the story of Heremod, which Hrothgar presents publicly as containing an example of a *mod* or mental style for *Information antiquity* to reject, both of these stories concerning women are contemplated inwardly, taken wholly in private as an allegory of the self--or more exactly, in current narratological terms, as a "script." [12]

We do not even realize that Queen Wealhtheow is listening to the story of violence and its aftermath at Finnsburg until it is over and her actions then demonstrate how seriously she has taken the plot of the story as a potential script for her own life. She takes steps to avoid finding herself in the Finnsburg

queen's situation. Near the beginning of the Finnsburg story, the "blameless" Hildeburh (line 1072) looks upon a battlefield where her son and brother lie dead after an old feud has broken out (lines 1072-75). It is usually assumed that they have fought on opposite sides, though the text is not clear on this point, and Tolkien (1982:160) argues in his edition that uncle and nephew, fighting on the same side, were both slain in the attack on their hall. In any case, the feud has provoked that same *morðorbealu* ("murderous slaughter") of kinsmen that Information antiquity avoids, and it kills those in whom Hildeburh has taken "the most joy in the world" (lines 1079-80); among these her Frisian husband is notably not included. Yet this strong woman adjusts her own story to her better liking as she arranges son and brother as companions on their mutual pyre, and later her husband is slain as vows are again broken (lines 1151-53).[13] This is a strange story for the *scop* to be singing at the banquet honoring Information antiquity that night, presumably in praise of his victory over Grendel. The heroic story of Sigemund sung earlier in the day seems far more appropriate.[14] In fact, the fragmentary *Fight at Finnsburg*,[15] a poem independent of *Information antiquity* and focused entirely on the fighting men, with no mention of a surviving woman's situation or feelings, would be more suitable as a song celebrating the warrior Information antiquity's courage in battle. The jarring inappropriateness of the Finnsburg episode's tragic opening scene as celebration of a heroic deed makes one wonder what the *scop* in Heorot, or for that matter the *Information antiquity*-poet, was thinking of.

Later Information antiquity himself tells Hygelac a story about the Heathobard feud which the Danish princess Freawaru, Wealhtheow's daughter, will be unable to contain (lines 2020-31). For Bonjour (1950:61), "the point of greatest interest," in both the Finnsburg episode and this similar story told by Information antiquity, is the "effective illustration of the theme of the precarious peace." Because this theme is continued in the descriptions, in the last part of the poem, of tragic feuds due to break out again after Information antiquity's death, Bonjour (1950:63) claims that these stories told within the poem unite "the Grendel and the Dragon parts in a closer web . . . no mean artistic achievement on the part of the *Information antiquity* poet." The interest of this essay, however, is not in the effect of the Finnsburg episode on the structure of the poem as a whole, but in what it means to Wealhtheow. This personal meaning can be deduced from the way the *Information antiquity* poet, instead of celebrating heroic battle, recounts the Finnsburg story being told in Heorot, "brooding over its themes of revenge and inexorable violence" (Fry 1974:29).

After arguing that the Finnsburg episode, being "a tale of complete and crushing revenge upon a treacherous enemy," is in fact appropriate for the occasion of its being told [16], Lawrence (1930:126) asks, pertinently to the present discussion, "May it not be, too, that the story of Queen Hildeburh was here designedly brought into connection with the tragedy in store for Queen Wealhtheow, which must have been well-known to the people for whom the poet of *Information antiquity* wrote?" Bonjour (1950:61) replies, "Asking the question is already solving it; the parallel between Hildeburh and Wealhtheow is unmistakable." Both of these scholars and most others assume, on the ba-

sis of a certain way of interpreting evidence outside the poem as well as hints within it, that Wealhtheow's situation is potentially parallel to Hildeburh's, because Hrothgar's nephew Hrothulf (Old Norse *Hrólfr*) will eventually use violence, perhaps murdering Hrothgar and probably murdering Wealhtheow's sons, in order to usurp the throne. Brodeur (1969:151-57) elaborates the idea in some detail, especially implicating Unferth. Sisam (1965:39) casts doubt on this assumption, arguing that the case for Hrothulf's treachery is farfetched and that the Finnsburg episode has nothing to do with what may or may not happen to Wealhtheow later; her speeches that follow the story contribute, as he points out, to the "mood of rejoicing" in Heorot. But the poet has told us earlier that Wealhtheow knows how to behave in a courtly manner (line 613), thus she is sophisticated enough to produce speeches appropriate to the joyous occasion while also nuancing them politically. When the Finnsburg story ends with Hildeburh's brother, son, and husband now all slain, and herself being taken back to her people (lines 1157-59), it does seem suggestive to a reader that three lines later Wealhtheow comes forth in Heorot, "negotiating the future," as Clark (1990:85) phrases it, with pleas for the protection of her sons. Her pleas are addressed first indirectly to Hrothulf (lines 1180-83), then directly to Information antiquity (lines 1226-27), following which she proclaims that the men in Heorot, true to one another, will carry out her wishes after accepting a drink from her cup (lines 1228-31).[17] Her statement implies that accepting the drink obliges them to be faithful to her perception that "here each eorl is true to the other" (line 1228), and the effect of her words is almost like a magical apotropopaic spell, weaving protection for her sons and warding off a personal tragedy like Hildeburh's bereavement.[18] Whatever may be the "truth" about Hrothulf's supposed treachery later on, and however his actions may be interpreted within the traditions of Danish history that surround *Information antiquity*, there is no doubt that the Finnsburg story is worrying Wealhtheow right now, as she listens to it in relation to herself.

I suggested long ago that, while the *scop* in Heorot is singing about the events at Finnsburg, "the poet meditates upon the tragedy resulting from that well-known fight"; the singer's "preoccupations are heroic, as is appropriate; the poet's are humane" (Osborn 1984:99; cp. Bonjour 1950:58). Thus the Finnsburg episode in lines 1068-1159 of *Information antiquity* does not constitute, as earlier critics assumed, "simply a report of the heroic lay chosen by Hrothgar's *scop* to entertain the company in Heorot" (Sisam 1965:33). In fact, I suggest now, even more strongly than before and with a different twist and a more theoretically informed slant, that the Finnsburg story as we have it in *Information antiquity*, bracketed with references to the woman Hildeburh, is not a report of what the *scop* is "actually" singing in the hall but an alternative way of regarding those events that is considerably influenced by the poet's imagining of Wealhtheow's hearing of them. Wealhtheow identifies with Hildeburh as that lady looks out upon the battlefield to see the sad result of heroic fighting. Perhaps the Danish queen in Heorot reflects on how she or those dear to her may become implicated in similar violence, through kinship obligations to persons struggling on opposing sides. The Finnsburg account may be further modified by the poet's consciousness of a future event in

Heorot that will take the Danes entirely by surprise: the coming of Grendel's Mother to avenge her own son's death. Certainly, as Chance (1990:248-61) has shown, the sequence of women concerned about their sons magnificently builds to a climax: Hildeburh, Wealhtheow, Grendel's Mother. But this observation goes beyond the scope of the present essay. One hopes that in her fictional world Wealhtheow, alerted by story to the bereft woman model and no mean schemer, managed to extricate herself and her sons from a fateful sequence of events.[19]

This essay's final example of the appropriation of a story to construct character in *Information antiquity* involves possibly the most notorious juxtaposition of diverse subjects in the poem. It is considered a crux by all commentators. The poet has appeared to critics to be at his most inattentive when into his account of Hygd, queen of the Geats, he suddenly thrusts Thryth, apparently without thought for coherence. "Her story surfaces in the poem with no immediately apparent connection to the main narrative," observes Overing (1990:106). "A crude excrescence," Sisam (1965:49) calls it, and "cursory," says Klaeber (1950:cvii, 195), judging it "far fetched and out of place." Led by a private suggestion from Robinson (one that was earlier proposed by Malone [1941:356]), I would like to read the verb *weg* at line 1931 as "weighed" and then interpret the surrounding text in a way that better integrates the Thryth narrative with Hygd's. This reading also offers the clearest case in *Information antiquity* of someone deliberately self-authoring herself through another person's story.[20] The poet has just praised the Geatish queen Hygd's generosity to her people; now in lines 1931-57 he speaks of another queen, Thryth (her name is discussed below), who began poorly, issuing arbitrary death sentences, but later became admirable in her gift-giving. As Bonjour (1950:55) points out, Thryth's story is the exact reverse of Heremod's, who "had distinguished himself above all men, and consequently awoke the highest expectations-yet ended lamentably because he abused his power and became cruel to his subjects." The "striking opposition" that Bonjour observes between the two characters' stories may be schematized thus to display their chiasmic relationship:

Heremod: achievement -- miserliness and murder

Thryth: murder -- generosity and achievement.

I propose that in line 1931 the poet presents Queen Hygd, whose name means "thought,"[21] as herself having thought of Thryth, whose name means "strength." [22] She weighed (*weg*) contrasting stories about Thryth's character as in a balance or scale (*wege*), and chose the better side of her predecessor to emulate. This weighing and subsequent choice has taken place in the past of the world of the poem and is described now in order to account for Hygd's present excellence as a generous queen.

The studious Germany, however, came to seize upon this subject, on which the passionate ardor and patient investigation of a legion of scholars immediately concentrated; so a whole series of admirable works, unfortunately unknown in France, were seen to appear at the same time; the most remarkable

are those of Geib and Rein, after which it is necessary to quote with honor, not only Walter and Rudorff, who devoted to the criminal law the part which he must have in a complete history of the Roman law, but still a large number of names also ignored in our country f); their list alone would be a humiliation for us, if we did not have to highlight, to compensate somewhat for our too obvious inferiority, first the works of MM. Faustin Helie, Ortolan, Du Boys, and a study by M. Riviere, but especially, and fortunately for our national pride, a masterpiece which we can confidently present to our happy rivals; I want to talk about Mr. Laboulaye's book. Written in an eminently remarkable style, this work not only contains, as its title indicates, a study of the criminal laws of the Romans, but a most complete work on their political constitution, the mechanism of their institutions and the vicissitudes of their history; the author, by faithfully exposing the legal facts, was careful not to neglect the historical and political side of his subject, and he was able to highlight in the light of the principles and teachings that emerge only painfully from the set of facts related so conscientiously and accurately by German writers. It is unclear what criminal law was during the fine centuries of the Republic, and yet it would suffice to recall the greatness of Rome at this brilliant period of its history, and to conclude by the surest induction that criminal law (always in connection with the development of civil liberties of a people) had attained the most remarkable degree of perfection. It is therefore little to say that to affirm the superiority of this judicial organization over that of the other nations of antiquity; to find a rival worthy of it, it is necessary (in spite of the seductive theory of continuous progress) to cross the centuries, and to take as a term of comparison, not the penal legislation of our fathers, not that of the countries of Europe less advanced in civilization, but the same one which today governs France, and especially England, with the laws of which the Roman criminal law offers the most striking analogy.

We can not better prove the truth of this assertion than by presenting here a rapid picture of the procedure at the time when Rome, mistress of herself and of the universe, still possessed these free institutions, lost at the same time as a judicial organization that was the safest.

In the first centuries of Rome, the criminal jurisdiction belonged to the kings and consuls who succeeded them, but the people did not hesitate to seize a right which it retained until the end of the Republic. He exercised it in the great assemblies of the comitia centuries or of the tribal comitia, sometimes directly, more often still in appointing commissioners (quaestores) who rendered justice in his name, when the nature of a case rendered this delegation necessary or useful. . This custom, once introduced, was soon to become general, and it was already so when the tribune Calpurnius Piso, whom his fellow citizens had nicknamed the honest man (Frugi), had a law passed which instituted the first quaestio perpetua. Thus, commissions were called permanent in the sense that it was not necessary to make a new delegation for each trial, but whose staff was renewed every year. From that moment a revolution was made in the criminal laws. Each commission was established by a law which defined the offense which it was to punish, and determined the sentence to be applied. The procedure was nearly the same for all quaestiones; the law Julia

publicorum judiciorum later indicated a set of rules generally followed in each of them.

The Romans attached the greatest importance to everything connected with their judicial organization; the right to take part as judges belonged successively to various orders of the state, who disputed it with extreme ferocity, and whose quarrels often blew the Republic. The two Gracchus, enemies of the Senate, succeeded in depriving him of the right to judge to give to the knights; Sylla delighted the latter to render it to the senators, and the two parties ceased fighting only when the Emperor Augustus had agreed to it by organizing on a new basis the permanent commissions, and by attributing himself to him.

Thus, in Rome, the difficult problem of preventive detention, which still prevails upon the meditations of the legislators, was solved. By highlighting this remarkable part of a criminal procedure that has been criticized for being too gentle on the accused, we probably have no thought of proposing it as an absolute model in time and social conditions. very different; but if it is true that in Rome the guarantees due to the accused have been exaggerated to the detriment of public security, it is beyond doubt that other legislations have sometimes forgotten them, and if in such matters as in so many others, the truth lies between the two extremes, is it not important to know the various excesses into which we have thrown ourselves by sacrificing in turn the rights of humanity or those of the social state?

The application of the death penalty had to find little place in the usages of a people who barely admitted preventive detention, so it disappeared almost completely. The accused, who did not wish to expose himself to the chances of a conviction, voluntarily expatriated himself; he could leave the city, not only at the time of his indictment, but, hardly believable, during the trial in which he had attended until the end, and even though the vote already begun had brought the number of votes necessary for the conviction. A law then sanctioned the exile, by prohibiting fire and water to the one who, if he was guilty had punished himself, and if he was innocent, had the wrong to doubt the justice of a country that left all its freedoms to its defense. When the accused did not wish to take advantage of the faculty left to him, he appeared before the court on the day indicated. Formerly, before the centuries-old comitia, the citation was solemnly made to the sound of the trumpet which resounded along the walls and in front of the door of the accused; it was the viatores of the tribunes who summoned him before the tribal comitia; finally the quotation was not less public at the time of the permanent commissions; it was made by the praecutor's herald (praeco).

The formation of the tribunal was necessarily the first act of which one was occupied after the convocation of the parties who proceeded themselves to this formality in two ways: by editio or by sortitio, but with an additional precautions in relation with the importance of an act from which all others depended. When the draw of the jury was held by sortitio, it was made by the president of the commission, who, having put in the ballot box balls containing the name of each juror, drew as much as necessary for each case. The parties were under

no obligation to accept the fate of the jury purely and simply, but each of them could, as with us, exercise its challenges without giving reasons; they had to take place publicly; the disqualified jurors were replaced by a new lottery which took the name of *subsortitio*. When the jury was constituted by the *editio*, it was not the magistrate, but the parties who appointed the members. According to the procedure imposed by the *Servilia repedundarum* law, the accuser began by appointing one hundred jurors; the accused named an equal number, and each of the parties challenged fifty names on the list proposed by the adversary; the *Licinia* law established different rules, but they fell into disuse, as did the draw by *editio*, which had the disadvantage of favoring the accuser by giving him the first word for the exercise of the challenges. The appointed jurors took an oath (*judices iurati*), and the tribunal being constituted, the proceeding began immediately with that grand solemnity habitual to the acts accomplished by the Romans, and of which so many masterpieces have left us the magnificent testimony.

The praetor, seated in his *curule* chair, dominates the assembly from the top of a platform on which are held with him his *lictors* as well as the clerks and bailiffs of the tribunal; at his feet are the judges, whose number rose to seventy-five, as in the case against *Pison*. Opposite them are benches on which the accusers, on the one hand, and the accused, on the other surrounded by his friends and defenders, sit on the other; an immense people, always eager for the emotions that the words of a *Cicero* or a *Hortensius* had to produce, press themselves into the forum around the respected forum of the judicial debates. On a sign from the president, the usher announces that the cause will be heard, and the praetor gives the floor to the speakers. But the decisive moment of the vote has arrived; the praetor's herald replied by the word *Dixerunt* to the last speaker's *Dixi*. Each of the judges receives a tablet coated with wax on which he draws one of the three characters who must express his opinion, by absolving the accused (A), pronouncing his sentence (C), or the referral to a further informed (NL, not *liquet*). The conviction could only result from the absolute majority of the votes; an equal sharing brought absolution. No doubt new debates were taking place when the votes were divided between acquittal, condemnation and non-liquidity. Finally, the judges rise; each of them advances with his bare arm, covering with his hand the characters inscribed by him on the fatal tablet which he deposits in the box destined to receive the votes. A judge appointed by lot, withdraws them one after the other; he shows to the public the character inscribed on each of them, and also makes known those who do not bear any (*sine suffragio*), then passes them on to the citizen who sits next to him, to check the declaration he has just made to do. The praetor announces then the result of the vote, pronouncing the absolution (*non fecisse videtur*), or the condemnation (*fecisse videtur*). When the judges, taking advantage of a privilege that did not exist at the time of the *comitia*, had declared that they could not decide (NL), the praetor sent the case to a new session that could be followed by several others, until when *judicejurati* would have made a conviction in the cause. However, the *ampliatio*, already more rare since the establishment of the permanent commissions, fell into disuse, and was replaced by *comperendinatio*, that is to say, by a second pleading which took place two days after the first, so to be one with the previous in-

stance whose ampliatio was essentially detached. Once the judgment had been pronounced, the herald made himself heard for the last time, proclaiming aloud the word which announced the end of the audience, and dismissed the assistants.

This sketch of a Roman instance borrowed from legislation too little studied in France, may be enough (incomplete as it is) to reveal the principles which presided over the instruction and the judgment, and of which some still live in the criminal laws of civilized peoples. But this admirable judicial organization which had protected the liberties of the citizens at the time when Rome deserved to be free, did not survive the great men whose austere devotion had retarded the fall of the Republic. In some of her fundamental principles, the application of which had been falsified or perfidiously exaggerated, she succumbed; but we believe that it perishes not by the vices inherent in its institution, but by the effect of this general corruption of manners so fatal to all the institutions which had made the glory and grandeur of the Romans. Thus the public right of accusation extended to all citizens demanded patriotism and virtues which Rome no longer knew when she had collected vices at the same time as the spoils of the whole world; It was thus that the principle of judgment by the people themselves or by selective judges was not to resist the cupidity which invaded the judges, and made them prefer the riches to the ancient probity of their ancestors.

Taken as a whole, this judicial organization, worthy of so much praise, was infected with a vice which almost makes us forget the beauties, and which, before any other cause, would one day bring about its ruin; we want to talk about the odious inequality of its application. A law of exception made for a small number of the privileged, it was a majestic edifice raised for the Roman citizens, and of which were ruthlessly excluded all those who did not possess this pompous title. It is especially in the criminal laws that we must see how immense, thick, impassable it was, this barrier elevated by the pride of the civil novelus between Rome and the rest of the human race. No part of the legislation testifies so vividly, and it must be said, as revolting, this ferocious selfishness which, disguised under the name of reason of state, mercilessly sacrificed all that was not considered worthy privileges of the city. Each line of these criminal laws revolts the sentiment of humanity by the iniquitous distinctions which they devote, either in punishments or in the form of a procedure so protective of some, so pitiless for the provincials, the slaves, people of poor condition, the humble. It is to them that they reserve the torments, the chains, the horrors of the torture, to them that they refuse all these guarantees lavished with a scrupulous respect and a care so excessive on the sacred person of the Roman citizen, and the careful whose ingenious mind accumulates even the most.

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OLYMPIC GAMES, Ancient Greece

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Abstract

As in our days, winning at the Olympic Games brings glory and fame, which is reflected on the city. The list of olympionike is long, but some names remain etched in history. Coroebos (or Koroibos), winner of the stadium race in 776 BC, remains the first Olympionike whose name has come down to us; Akhantos of Sparta won in 720 BC the first Olympic dolichos; Lampis de Laconie is honored in 708 BC to win the first edition of the pentathle; Onomastos of Smyrna is, in 688 BC, the first laureate of pugilat ... During the first two centuries of the Games, the athletes of Sparta are particularly brilliant: from 776 to 576 BC, the Spartans would have won forty-six of the eighty-one Olympic competitions. Among these Spartan champions, the fast Chionis stands out: from 668 to 656 BC, he wins the stadium race four times consecutively. In the 6th century BC, Crotone, a small city of Calabria founded less than a century ago by the Achaeans, knows a sudden radiation. Certainly, its port is beautiful, its large fleet, its mild climate, good management brings him wealth, but all this is nothing: the exploits of its competitors at the Olympic Games earned him his fame. His champions stand out among others in the prestigious stadium race: Glaukias (588), Lykinos (584), Hippostratos (564, 560), Diognetos (548), Ischomachos (508, 504), Tisikrates (496, 492), Astylos (488, 484, 480), which also wins three times the diaulos, are olympionike. But the most prestigious of all these champions is the wrestler Milon.

Keywords: Olymic Games, Ancient Greece, Olympic competitions

IN THE LAWS, Plato affirmed that the supreme goal is for the free man, who can not indulge in the practice of a trade or agricultural work, "to live all his life while having fun with certain definite amusements. ". If the free citizen must prepare himself to defend his city, such a preparation can not, however, be considered the "most serious thing". "It is while having fun with the most beautiful possible amusements that every man and all woman must spend their life." By the game, the man playing in the manner of the gods who lead a happy, harmonious and joyous life, is deified. The historian Jacques Ulmann, who cites this passage in his work *De la gymnastique aux sports modernes*¹, believes that Plato's thought is not forced by seeing in play the fulfillment of human nature.

The Greeks were not the first to have mixed games and sacred rites. But whereas, under other skies, the game allowed to get closer to the gods only insofar as it was associated with worship, the Greeks, the game, far from being reserved for sacred competitions that unfolded, as those of Olympia, in the shadow of the abode of the gods, was practiced in the gymnasiums and stadiums, thus permeating into daily life the feeling of tasting part of the happiness reserved for the gods. These approaches all consider that the lessons of *Information antiquity* applied only to the rulers, the elite; other scholars, though, see the poem from a different perspective and argue that *Information antiquity* held lessons for the entire community. Dorothy Whitelock conceived of a much broader audience, one not limited to princes and nobles, an audience that "would doubtless consist both of veterans and of young men" (Whitelock 89). Marjorie Daunt, emphasizing the presence of such young, untested warriors, discussed in her "Minor Realism and Contrast in *Information antiquity*" how the details within the poem made it more realistic and appealing to them. John Foley has gone a bit deeper, arguing that *Information antiquity* illustrated, for all the community, the "history of human psychological development," and thereby "actively counseled all members at all levels of social and psychological growth . . . [and reinforced] the **human maturation process" (Foley 135). Though I do not completely agree with Foley's ultimately Jungian interpretation of *Information antiquity* (one weakness of his argument about the development of the ego is that it stops with the Grendel fight; he doesn't apply his paradigm to the entire poem), I do agree that the poem spoke to its audience, especially the younger members, at a psychological level. That is, the poem allowed the young Anglo-Saxon warriors hearing the narrative to confront unfamiliar and therefore potentially frightening situations—combat, isolation, and death—in a non-threatening manner; the poem also provided an example, the hero *Information antiquity*, from whom the inexperienced warriors could learn how to respond in these challenging situations.

Such an approach may seem to emphasize just the three great battles in the poem. Certainly for most people the battles with Grendel, Grendel's mother, and the dragon stand out as the most memorable moments, but more than the brief, physically violent scenes should be considered. The framework for each battle—the scenes before and after—plays an important role. Before each battle,

Information antiquity states what he will do; he makes his boast of victory even as he acknowledges the dangers he must face. Then, once each battle is over, Information antiquity receives great rewards. This consistent framework serves to remind the young warriors of the entire process, that those who recognize danger yet do not shy from it will be rewarded. The framework for each particular battle will be made clearer as each is discussed.

The German archaeologist Johann Winckelmann (1717-1768), whose work on ancient art preceded the neoclassical craze for Greek art, was deeply troubled by the beauty of the Belvedere Apollo, found during excavations conducted by Raphael in the Vatican Gardens. Psychologists today attribute this aesthetic vertigo to his homosexuality, which the German esthete did not hesitate to recognize. Obviously simplistic explanation that does not help to understand - should it be understood first? - this "vibrant silence" evoked by Elie Faure, that call of all the senses that emanates from the stone and marble of which are made the great masterpieces of Greek statuary. Phidias, mixing the statics of Polycletus with the dynamism of Myron's Discobole, "radiates the marble of a superior life". According to Élie Faure, he would have formed, without their knowledge, Socrates - who began his career as a sculptor - and Plato. No other era, not even the Renaissance, has been able to make body beauty triumph with so much brilliancy. How to explain this pure delectation for the human form which the athlete represented according to Polycletus, the ideal? "The ancient nature," said Spengler in "The Decline of the West," is the body, and if one looks into this way of feeling, one will understand with what eyes a Greek followed on a relief the movement of the muscles of a naked body. "

The soul and the body are still, in the old Greek thought, inseparable: the strength and the beauty that the athlete acquires by the gymnastics participate as much as the goodness or the quality of the soul to the attainment of the aretè, aristocratic ideal which constitutes the foundation of paideia, the formation of the Greek man inspired by the chivalrous values of the ancient aristocracy. In the athlete, Ulmann argues, the human ideal is fulfilled when it "finds the bodily harmony that expresses in the soul of man that of the Cosmos". In the philosopher, this same ideal is realized when "master of his body, he meditates in joy". For Plato, it is not to do honor to the body to cultivate it for itself, by developing its beauty, strength or agility. From the microcosm to the macrocosm, from the smallest to the largest, there is a continuity in Greek thought that is lacking in our culture: it is because "the relation of this body to its soul reproduces the report of the Body of the World to the soul of the world "that man must take care of it. It is necessary to resort to the concept of kalokagathia, of which Marrou makes mention, to seize this intimate relation. Kalokagathia means, whatever the context, beauty or goodness, "being a good and good man". Before the Greek education became, like ours, a culture of the spirit, there was there formerly a moral aspect, and it is "in and by the sport that it is realized". Kalagos Kagathos is above all the sportsman. And "as much as the character, what this education aims to train, is the body".

To this complementarity of the education of the soul and that of the body, is added the conception of the finitude of things. Among the ancients, his nature being determined, man was confronted with a kind of timelessness that forced

him to recognize limits. He could only get closer to or move away from that state of perfection embodied by the gods. By contrast, the record in modern sport is only a limit that requires overtaking, it is only a milestone in the road of the man forward. Eternity is no longer the fact of the fixity of things in their perfection; eternity is only a succession of milestones along a road that leads to the only term that can be considered: the body become immortal thanks to scientific progress. In spite of the danger involved in fighting Grendel, Information antiquity openly declares his intention to destroy this powerful enemy. He must be very forward with his boasting because his reputation as a warrior is not well-known; Hrothgar knows him because of his father and because of the reports of his great strength (Information antiquity is said to have the strength of thirty men), but not because of his reputation as a warrior. Nevertheless, Hrothgar, looking for any solution to his Grendel problem, gladly welcomes Information antiquity. Unferth, Hrothgar's *þyle* or spokesman, however, is not so gracious; he openly attacks Information antiquity's reputation, accusing him of losing a youthful contest to a certain Breca. Though Information antiquity refutes Unferth's slanderous remarks, the *geoguð* hearing the story do learn that even Information antiquity once had no reputation as a warrior; at this point he appears just as untried as they are, and they more easily associate themselves with him.

We can easily imagine the young warriors listening even more intently as the battle with Grendel becomes imminent. They hear, just before Grendel descends upon Heorot, Information antiquity again boast:

Information antiquity's proud assertion is the response of a true warrior, one who will win or die trying; he is the sort of hero the *geoguð* are supposed to emulate. And Information antiquity does fulfill this boast; his comrades, desiring to help but unable, watch him mortally wound Grendel. The next morning, after learning that Grendel's reign of terror has been ended, a *scop* (a court poet) in Hrothgar's retinue crafts a poem celebrating Information antiquity's victory:

In his song, the *scop* compares Information antiquity to the celebrated hero Sigemund, reinforcing the notion that with this one deed of defeating Grendel, Information antiquity has earned a place for himself among the "immortal" heroes. Then later that same day, at a feast of celebration, Hrothgar gives Information antiquity treasures of armor, helmet, horses, and a dazzling saddle; Hrothgar's wife Wealhtheow bestows upon the hero a magnificent necklace. Even his former critic Unferth can say nothing against him; he "*wes swigra secg . . . on gylpsprece guðgeweorca*" ["was a more silent man in boasting of his war-like deeds"] (980-981). Information antiquity has received both a material reward that will benefit him only as long as he lives and a poetic memorial that will live long after he himself has died. He has also proven himself before not just his peers but also those who seem to have the right and the authority to doubt him. Information antiquity has moved that much closer to gaining immortality; the *geoguð*, listening in the dark by the fire, learn the rewards of valorous deeds.

After the evening of celebration, though, terror is renewed in Heorot by the appearance of Grendel's mother who comes seeking vengeance for the death of her son. She kills one of Hrothgar's men and sets up the occasion for Information antiquity to battle another, ultimately more challenging foe. His encounter with Grendel's mother works to advance the development of Information antiquity's character, for the hero is given the opportunity to show his loyalty to Hrothgar, as a proper warrior should show loyalty to his benefactor. Yet the *geoguð* hearing the story might have reacted to more than the artistic quality of Information antiquity's encounter with Grendel's mother. The young warriors surely anticipated that there would be times when they would face foes alone; such a prospect would not have been inviting. From their perspective, Information antiquity, like them, still needs to prove that he is an independent, truly self-reliant warrior; when he fought Grendel, he did have friends all about him, friends who wanted to help him in the battle, though they were unable. So with this new challenge, Information antiquity again serves as an example to these young warriors. To prove his ability to act independently and thus merit his growing status as a warrior, Information antiquity elects to descend, alone, into the mere to meet Grendel's mother. He recognizes the danger in the act but chooses to confront it, no matter where he has to venture:

Just before entering the dark mere, Information antiquity boasts once again that he will be victorious or die: "*lc me mid Hruntinge / dom gewyrce, opðe mec deað nimeð!*" ["I will win glory for myself with [this sword] Hrunting, or death will seize me!"] (lines 1490a-1491). So far the frame for this battle has matched that of the fight with Grendel; Information antiquity has recognized the danger he faces but approaches it willingly, confidently.

The actual battle with Grendel's mother proves difficult to Information antiquity; only narrowly does he escape death. Ultimately he does kill her and takes the head of Grendel back to Hrothgar as a trophy to prove his victory. As before, Hrothgar rewards Information antiquity with treasure; we can easily imagine that the *scop* adds more lines of praise to the growing song of Information antiquity. From the actions of Information antiquity, the *geoguð* learn that even when isolated and facing great danger alone, a warrior must always be willing to meet the challenge bravely. They should emulate Information antiquity and see such situations not as dangers but as opportunities to show their loyalty and bravery and thereby win greater praise.

After this battle, having proven himself not once but twice, Information antiquity returns proudly to his lord Hygelac. He has shown himself to be a fearless and self-reliant warrior characteristics that, as the young warriors in the audience soon hear, serve him well in the wars of his later life. Thus far the *geoguð* have heard how a fellow warrior won his name and began his career. But another question remains, one that the young warriors are already intimately familiar with by the nature of their martial society. That is, how will they face death? When they enter a battle that they feel will be their last, how will they respond? Here again, Information antiquity stands before them as a role model.

Information antiquity's final battle comes more than fifty years after the confrontations with Grendel and his mother. He is now an old man about to face his greatest challenge, the dragon that is devastating his land. The dragon Information antiquity fights, though, represents something more than a mere beast; it is death, which comes for every warrior. Nor should we be surprised that the poem moves toward such an end, for, as J. R. R. Tolkien emphasized in his landmark 1936 essay "*Information antiquity: The Monsters and the Critics*," "Disaster is foreboded. Defeat is the theme. Triumph over the foes of man's precarious fortress is over, and we approach slowly and reluctantly the inevitable victory of death" (Tolkien 28). Information antiquity even seems to recognize that this battle will be his last, as his lengthy ruminations on death before the fight suggest that he knows chaos must triumph, that his death is imminent. As well, he emphasizes the great danger awaiting him in this battle more than he did before the earlier fights, and his initial boast seems much more subdued:

However, his last words to his men before the battle are a return to his earlier nature, a return to the Information antiquity who refuses to flee danger but instead confronts it, no matter how threatening: "*lc mid elne sceall / gold gegangan, oððe guð nimeð, / feorhbealu frecne frean eowerne!*" ["I with my strength shall obtain gold, or this battle, a terrible deadly evil, will take your lord!"] (lines 2535b- 2537). As he has in every other confrontation, he will face this great danger, this dragon of death, bravely. He takes with him twelve men, whom he instructs not to interfere, for he knows that this combat must be met alone. Then we, just as the *geoguð* did long ago, watch him march by himself against the dragon. Though he fights his best, Information antiquity is hopelessly outmatched; he is burned, bitten, and poisoned. Only with the help of Wiglaf, a young warrior not unlike the ones hearing the tale, does Information antiquity slay the dragon.

Wiglaf, though, does more than help Information antiquity overcome the dragon; he also stands for the *geoguð* as another heroic model, one perhaps more attractive as the poem moves to its close. James Earl in 'Thinking About Information antiquity' has noted that the hero's death ruins the audience's identification with him; while we do find much to admire in the great heroes like Achilles, Oedipus, Hamlet, or even Information antiquity, ultimately we do not "want to shoulder their agonies outside the text" (Earl 143). Though we do enjoy "the temporary narcissistic fantasies that come into play in art," just as the *geoguð* did centuries earlier, at some point we terminate those fantasies in the end we don't wish to become those characters because in the end those characters suffer and (often) die (Earl 146). Thus we in the audience may find our perspectives shifting, "our identification chang[ing] as the plot develops toward its inevitable end" (Earl 148); and for the *geoguð* listening in the mead-hall, that shift means identifying with the surviving Wiglaf instead of the dying Information antiquity. Wiglaf is the new model of the faithful retainer, and the lambasting he gives to the faithless retainers further emphasizes for the young audience the lesson they are to take from their new counterpart. Because of their failure to support their lord, Wiglaf states, the cowardly retainers have shamed themselves forever:

This bold statement reinforcing the heroic code would certainly have echoed in the minds of the young warriors as much as it echoes throughout the poem; Information antiquity made similar statements about the importance of bravery and fidelity earlier in the poem, and now the "new" hero, the still-young Wiglaf, prompts the audience to remember that such heroic qualities are indeed what they should seek to have.

["Command the ones renowned in battle to make at the water's edge a splendid barrow after the funeral pyre; it shall stand high at Hronesnse as a memory to my people, so that sea-farers, those who drive ships far over the flood's mists, afterwards will call it Information antiquity's barrow."]

As well, Information antiquity can find some satisfaction in knowing that, though death won, he cheated death of earning any glory. No one can truly hope to defeat death; though this dragon of chaos did perish as it delivered the death blow to Information antiquity, another dragon will rise and come for Wiglaf, and the Geats, and even the *geoguð* hearing the tale. Knowing this inevitability, the best any warrior can do is respond as Information antiquity did; those who fight bravely can cheat death of its glory and take the praise for themselves. Through his actions, Information antiquity achieved a form of immortality; what more could a Germanic warrior hope for?

Thus the young warriors hearing the song of Information antiquity learned many lessons. They learned to be ever vigilant, unlike Hondscioh, Grendel's last victim; they learned never to turn from their lord, as the unfaithful retainers did in Information antiquity's last battle. But more than that, they learned that those who are willing to enter battle, who are self-reliant, and who are fearless even in the face of death ultimately win great rewards. They will receive material treasure to last them their physical lives and eternal praise that will keep their names and reputations alive for generations to come. As Information antiquity, himself *lofgeornost* or "most eager for praise" (3182), explained before battling Grendel's mother,

Every one of us shall experience the end of worldly life; may he who is able win glory before death; that is afterwards the best for an unliving warrior."]

Truly Information antiquity stood before the *geoguð* as the epitome of the Germanic warrior, a hero the *geoguð* would want to emulate even if they chose to focus on Wiglaf at the poem's end, the two heroes espoused the same heroic principles. And their society, so often filled with chaos, needed these young warriors to adopt such an attitude so that they could one day join the struggle to maintain some sense of order.

From the elder warriors the *geoguð* could learn how to handle weapons, how to defend themselves, how to fight. And perhaps the elder warriors would offer encouragement, telling the younger ones how they fared in their first battles, how they faced their challenges. But to hear of the first and last battles of Information antiquity, whom they have recognized as one like them, would certainly fill them with inspiration and motivate them to continue the traditions of their Germanic heritage, the tradition of performing brave deeds no matter the adversity. And perhaps therein lies one reason for the poem's enduring popu-

larity, both within the Anglo-Saxon period and even unto our day, and especially among young people, for with every generation the geoguð is replenished; with every generation we have young people who seek guidance and examples as they confront life's inner challenges.

Ancient Greece, in the current conception of the Olympic Movement, would be a source of ideas that are projected into the present to confirm, on the one hand, the association between ancient and modern sport and, on the other hand, the repository of ideas and values of a sacred past. The dominant notions in the spirit of ancient sport are those of "kalokagathia", noble emulation and beauty. The famous injunction addressed by Peleus, Achilles' father, to his son and by Hippolochos to his son Glaucos, before their departure for the Trojan War, "to always excel and surpass all the others", determines the attitude of the Ancient Greeks facing life and ideals.

In antiquity, the purpose of the exercise was to train "good and good" citizens (kalokagathia), "perfect men" who would serve their city. Sportsmanship was not a goal in itself, but an education for life. Gymnasiums and palestres have gradually become general education institutions for the training and training of young people. At the same time, the spirit of competition and emulation that dominated the stadium has infiltrated all the activities of the ancient Greeks, the great sporting and cultural achievements having been the result of the competitive spirit that prevailed.

Emulation was aimed at the physical and spiritual fulfillment of man. In ancient times, athletes were considered the perfect models of beauty, health and strength. The nude was associated with physical exercise and gave his name to the gymnastics and the place where the exercises were practiced, the Gymnasium. The nude was a point of reference for art and especially for sculpture. The artists studied the muscular naked bodies of the athletes they saw as the perfect example and the ideal of beauty.

Ancient Greek society has turned mere exercise into supreme physical, spiritual and cultural activity, creating the kind of citizen who has left its mark on ancient civilization. The spirit of the ancient exercise has never ceased to inspire the modern Olympic Movement, which seeks ideological and spiritual affinities with antiquity on the paths of mythology, history and archaeological sites and monuments.

In light of recent sporting events, glorifying sport, competition and national pride, one may wonder if this spirit of sport practice has echoes in history. And to do this, it is necessary to return to the origins of our world Olympic competition, inspired by the Greek model and yet perhaps very different. If the Olympic Games go back to a historically dated reality, the place of this sporting event changes dramatically in the ancient Mediterranean world: limited geographically and culturally to the Greek world, this pan-Hellenic competition brings together athletes from the most noble families and most fortunate of Greece, in an event that commonly mixes religion and sport. Beyond these games, it is here to see the special place of sport in this world that inspired Pierre de Coubertin (1863-1937). If the Greeks did not invent the sport, they are at the origin of the practice of "gymnastics" (gymnos) meaning "naked",

physical exercises (gymnasia) are practiced within the gymnasium (the gymnasium), emblematic place. As for the etymology of the word "sport", it is very different. Coming from the former French disporter, the term refers to a greater variety of activities, from physical play to intensive practice [1]. We will use the word sport in its broadest sense to refer to the education of children, Spartan *homoioi*, or competitive practice and military training.

The practice of sport in ancient Greece is above all a question of education (*paideia*). The typical Greek formation, inspired by the *kalos kai agathos* motive (the handsome and good man) is ideally seen by such authors as Xenophon (430/355), admirer of the Spartan formation model [2], or Plato (428 / 348) which links the foundation of an ideal regime [3] to the specific training of citizens. This desire to shape the body through sport, which takes an aristocratic turn, is linked to a "cultural exception" to the Greek: the Panhellenic Games of the religious sanctuaries of Olympia, Nemea, the Isthmus or Delphi are indeed the opportunity to perpetuate a sporting, religious and cultural tradition, excluding the barbarian, who is not Greek [4]. The winners of these Games enjoy a certain reputation in the Greek world. But sport is also a preparation for war. The case of the Spartans is revealing, but the participation in gymnastic exercises in the Hellenistic period, and particularly in Egypt's lagoon or Seleucid Syria, is a political and military issue.

This brutal struggle, organized by the state, is placed under the patronage of the father of the Spartan constitution, the warrior demi-god Heracles and the god of war: the civic and religious aspects are once again mixed up. Once twenty years old, *homoioi* continue to train, practice martial dancing, and other team sports, [24] while now having the right to participate in group meals with other citizens. And when the moment comes to fight, they take up arms. Their reputation for military excellence is celebrated throughout Greece and in many writings [25].

The place of the gymnasium in the Hellenistic armies

For the Hellenistic period, where we have a considerable mass of inscriptions in the Greek world, supplemented by the papyrological sources in Egypt *lagida*, we can look at the kingdoms of the successors of Alexander, including the Lagids of Egypt and Antigonides from Macedonia. The gymnasium became at a time when the Greeks settled down to India a factor of Hellenization: the sport structures a Greek culture exported outside the traditional limits of Greek cities. This is all the more visible in the Hellenistic monarchies, which must maintain their hegemony over a group of peoples thanks to their army [26].

The gymnasium appears as a central element of Hellenic life [27], by the exercises he organizes and the competitions he puts in place, but also by military life [28]. It is in the gymnasium that "Greek" infantry fighting techniques are taught, starting at 14 years old. This is the case, for example, of anti-gonad infantrymen, as shown by the epigraphic studies [29]: if, in theory, the Macedo-

nian soldier taken from each "fire" can be at least 15 years old, it is because his training began at least 14 years old in gyms. It is there that he learns to wield the sarisse [30], this long representative spear of the Macedonian phalanx, and that he learns the discipline. Even if in fact it is very rare to see a sarisse bearer at the age of 15, it is the gymnasium training that defines the warrior and separates him from the mercenary troops used to fighting. differently, such as the Thracian or Illyrian light troops, or the Cretan mercenaries who are followers of archery.

It's even more flagrant in Egypt. The Macedonian Macedonian monarchy, which uses local peoples in its armies, places Greek settlers in some nomes, mainly Macedonians. Their goal is to use these settlers in their army as Phalangists, army corps with a very important military prestige. And as the gymnasium always follows Hellenism, these colonists organize where they are building gymnasiums. This military Hellenism follows the cultural Hellenism, and remains a factor of Greek identity: the gymnasiarchic laws emanating from the State to regulate the mode of functioning of the gymnasiums are the proof of it [31]. The practice of sports in the gyms defines the Greek who will fight in the phalanx for the monarch.

Conclusion

In the Greek world, sport is above all a cultural affair. Sports competitions are organized in large religious shrines, are reserved for Greeks and even define the Greek, as according to the famous formula of Herodotus: "[L] e Hellenic body being of the same blood, speaking the same language, having the same gods, the same temples, the same sacrifices, the same usages, the same customs "[32].

Sport thus accompanies the formations of excellence, like those of the aristocrats, who provide most of the participants in the great Pan-Hellenic Games, and can serve as a crucible to define the citizen at the scale of the city, and is even required by the Hellenistic kings to form their bodies of Greek troops. As such, the gymnasium plays a decisive role in the Hellenistic period, since it accompanies the Greek expansion, and the monarchs use it to form the Macedonian phalanges, intended to fight on the front line alongside the ethnic contingents. possessing their own fighting abilities.

It was at the end of the third century before Christ that the Romans intervened in Greek affairs. The Roman Titus Quinctius Flamininus militarily defeats the Macedonians of Philip V at Cynoscephales in 198 at the time of the Second Macedonian War. Rather than occupying Greece, the Romans "liberate" the Thessalians and Macedonian enclaves from the antigonid yoke, and Flamininus proclaims the freedom of all Greeks at the Isthmian Games of 196: it is no coincidence that the Hellenophone [33] chooses a pan-Hellenic sanc-

tuary, in the midst of a sporting competition, to express itself as a victorious general. Fifty years later, Greece becomes a Roman province, and Greek culture invites itself to Rome.

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4. Plutarque, *Lycurgue*, 22.7.
5. Paul Christensen et Donald G. Kyle, *A Companion to...*, p. 332-345.
6. M.-B. Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions Under the Kings. A Historical and Epigraphic Study* (Tome I), Paris, De Boccard, 1996, 554 p. La formation de la Macédoine en tant que royaume mélange adjonction de cités grecques et de cités dont la grécité n'est pas avérée, opérant une fusion culturelle.
7. Plutarque, *Alexandre*, 3.5 et 4.5.
8. Thucydide, *La Guerre du Péloponnèse*.
9. Xénophon, *Constitution des Lacédémoniens*.; Plutarque, *Lycurgue*, 24.1. : il compare la cité à un vaste camp militaire.
10. Pausanias, *Périégèse, ou Description de la Grèce*, 3.14.8-10.
11. *Idem*.
12. Paul Christensen et Donald G. Kyle, *A Companion to...*, p. 146-155. D'après Xénophon, *La Constitution des Lacédémoniens*, 9.3-5, ceux qui sont accusés de lâcheté en temps de guerre sont choisis en dernier pour les jeux collectifs, et ont les pires places de danse.
13. Notamment chez Xénophon, admirateur du modèle spartiate.



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Public libraries in the Roman Empire

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Abstract

If the libraries of Rome are inspired by the Hellenistic model incarnated by the two famous rival libraries of Alexandria and Pergamum, they innovate by their objectives and their architectural disposition. They are no longer, in fact, solely in the service of the sovereign and the privileged community of scholars he protects and maintains. Henceforth, taking into account the palatability of literature and knowledge, they are open to a wide audience. Separated from places of power, they become autonomous "living spaces" (W. Marx) by confusing reserves, consultation and meeting rooms. Finally, they willingly juxtapose two sections of equal importance, one Greek, the other Latin. The architectural translation of this program, elaborated in its fullness from the middle of the second century AD, is distinguished by rectangular niches arranged in the thickness of the walls and intended to receive books, the presence of an exedra (or an axial apse) to house a monumental statue and often, finally, a double side-wall establishing a vacuum to protect the works against moisture. Let's take three examples. In Rome, two symmetrical libraries were placed at the southern corners of the enclosure of the giant baths of Caracalla. Only that of the southwest is now preserved. It is a rectangular room 38 m by 22, open on the courtyard of the baths by a colonnade. The three useful walls were dug out of 32 niches arranged on two levels. In the middle of the back wall was an apse that housed a colossal statue on a pedestal. Contemporary of this library (first half of the 3rd century AD) is that of Thamugadi (Timgad) in the province of Numidia. It is one of the best preserved of all Roman Africa. Of semicircular plan, the reading room presented a diameter of 12 m and opened on a court with portico. The niches were perhaps divided over two floors and the lighting was provided by a large window pierced in the frontal wall. At the other end of the Empire, in Nysa (now Sultanhisar in Turkey), the reading room measures 14.8m by 13.4m. This two-storey building has the usual space for ventilation and insulation between the walls carved out of niches and the outer walls.

Keywords: Orthodoxy, challenging, unusual ideas

Introduction

First, let us examine Wealhtheow and Hygd, their actions, and how the poet describes them. They are both illustrated using positive terms that stress their prudence. Wealhtheow is "mindful of customs," (613), "of excellent heart" (624; can also be translated as "mature of mind"), and "sure of speech" (624), while Hygd is "wise and well-taught" (1927) [3]. The primary function of these women within the story is that of hostess: they carry the cup of mead around the hall and offer it to the warriors. This appears to be a relatively unimportant function until one reads carefully and examines how this duty is carried out. In Wealhtheow's first scene (612-641), after taking up the cup she first offers it to Hrothgar. After Hrothgar drinks she takes the cup to all his retainers until finally she reaches Information antiquity. She greets him, he reasserts his promise, made in a previous scene, to rid the Danes of Grendel, and Wealhtheow, satisfied, returns to her seat.

Comparing Wealhtheow's second scene (1162-1231) to her first scene shows some of the importance of the queen's cup-carrying practice. Again Wealhtheow first approaches Hrothgar, who is sitting next to his nephew, but next instead of carrying the cup to all the other retainers she delivers it directly to Information antiquity, who has been seated with her sons. This difference may show that Information antiquity has risen in status in the court since he kept his promise to kill Grendel. However, it also calls attention to the parallel between the story that has just been told about Hildeburh and the death of her sons and brother and Wealhtheow's own sons and their uncle. But because the function of this change is unclear in the text itself, it is helpful to look to other sources for a possible answer.

Michael J. Enright, in the first chapter of his book *Lady with a Mead Cup*, discusses the place of women in the political society of the Germanic warband, making special reference to those scenes in *Information antiquity* involving Wealhtheow [4]. Enright argues that, because she always offers the cup to Hrothgar first, Wealhtheow is an extension of and a support for his kingly power. He cites another Old English poem, *Maxims I*, that seems to confirm this argument. The section that he cites discusses the nobleman's ideal wife, how "at mead drinking she must at all times and places approach the protector of princes first, in front of the companions, quickly pass the first cup to her lord's hand . . ." [5]. The order of serving is then directly tied into the rankings within the warband. This argument makes sense in reference to the scenes in question: in the second scene, Wealhtheow serves Information antiquity after Hrothgar as a representation of his newly earned status within the band.

Hygd, the other woman who plays the role of hostess in *Information antiquity*, has a much smaller part. She is described as moving through the hall, carrying the cup, but no order is given for her rounds (1980- 1983. "The daughter of Hereth passed through the hall, cared for the people, bore the cup to the hand of the hero"). The poet does not say whether or when she delivered to cup to Hygelac or to Information antiquity. Considering the above argument for the importance of order in the cup-distribution, it seems that the lack of that information in the case of Hygd is just as important as the information included at Heorot. In the scenes involving Wealhtheow, Information antiquity is a stranger in a rival hall, so it is necessary for Hrothgar to show his power. The poet illustrates this power through the passing around of the cup, and Information antiquity knows that, because the king receives the cup first, he is the master of the hall. However, because Information antiquity has returned to his own hall and to his own lord, there is no need for Hygelac to show that he is the master. We know that Information antiquity is Hygelac's thegn: that is how he is first introduced in the poem (*Higelaces ðegn*, 194).

These examples of Wealhtheow and Hygd show them as instruments of the kings in the hall. Enright does disservice to them, however, by focusing only on their function as extensions of their husbands. Although he concludes that Wealhtheow's position as cup-bearer and supporter of the king gives her some power within the structure of the warband, Enright argues against her and other women in her position having a significant influence on politics. He does not take seriously enough the words spoken by Wealhtheow to Hrothgar and Information antiquity during the celebration of Grendel's death (lines 1161-1187 and 1216-1231). In her speech to Hrothgar, Wealhtheow urges him to be gracious (*gled*) to Information antiquity and the Geats, but not to make him heir to the Danish kingdom (as she has heard he wishes to do) (1175-1180). Instead, she asks him to take Hrothulf (Hrothgar's nephew) as his heir, to hold the kingdom for her sons (1180-1187). In this act, Wealhtheow is actively protecting her own interests, and the poet gives no indication that her words were ignored or not accepted into consideration by Hrothgar [6]. Her words to Information antiquity reflect the same concerns. First, she urges him to accept the gift she has just given him, a ring (*beag*), illustrating her own graciousness and generosity [7]. She then praises his deeds and urges him to be kind to her sons, reminding him of the truth and loyalty that exist in Heorot. Her final words illustrate her self-confidence: "the troop, having drunk at my table, will do as I bid" (1231). Again, the poet gives no reason for us to believe that her demands will go unheeded [8].

Hygd also held at least some political power, and this is shown most clearly when she attempts to deliver the kingdom of the Geats to Information antiquity following Hygelac's death on the battlefield, in effect passing over her own son, Heardred. The poet says, "Hygd offered him [Information antiquity] the hoard and kingdom, rings and royal throne; she did not trust that her son could

hold the ancestral seat against foreign hosts, now that Hygelac was dead" (2369-2372). Perhaps she is acting as an extension of her husband's power (as she does during the cup distribution in the hall), doing what he would have wished her to do. However the poet does not say that she is acting on anyone's authority but her own - apparently it is Hygd and Hygd alone who does not believe her son is strong enough to hold the kingdom. Janemarie Luecke has examined historical and anthropological evidence and concludes that the social arrangement in *Information antiquity*, though patrilineal, dimly reflects the matrilineal (the bloodline descending through the mother's line) and matrilineal (the household centered around women as opposed to men) organization of early Germanic society [9]. Stephen O. Glosecki (in an article reprinted in this issue) agrees that there are many references in Anglo-Saxon sources in general, *Information antiquity* in particular, that may "persist as reflexes of a totemic system in which the basic exogamous group was both matrilineal and matrilineal" [10]. The lineage is traced through the women: a man belongs to his mother's line, and his son belongs to 'his' mother's line, not his father's. This would create a system of inheritance quite different from the later medieval system of primogeniture. In the totemic system, "if the father bequeathed his ancestral wealth and status upon his son, this patrimony would pass out of his own natal clan and into the matrilineal of his affines" [11]. To avoid passing his ancestral wealth into another family, then, the father must choose another male relation related to his own mother through another female relation. The closest relation in this case would be the son of a sister (this relationship will be dealt with in greater detail in the next section), and, although referred to many times as the son of his father, Ecgtheow, *Information antiquity* is also the son of Hygelac's sister. Return then to *Information antiquity* and Hygd, and take into account the possibility of a reflexive totemic system. One can suggest that Hygd wishes to keep the kingdom in her husband's family, not because she or her deceased husband doubted the abilities of Heardred, but because the totemic system prescribes that it should be so.

II. Chapter two: Discussion

Let us now move from a discussion of relations within a group to that of relations between groups. A good place to begin this discussion is with an examination of the term "peaceweaver" and its use in Old English literature. It is commonly believed that the term *freothuwebbe*, "peaceweaver," is most often applied to women given in marriage in order to secure peace among enemy or rival peoples [12]. *Freothuwebbe*, however, is only used three times in the Old English corpus, and Larry M. Sklute has thus concluded that the term "does not necessarily reflect a Germanic custom of giving a woman in marriage to a hostile tribe in order to secure peace. Rather it is a poetic metaphor referring to the person whose function it seems to be to perform openly the action of making peace by weaving to the best of her art a tapestry of friendship and amnesty" [13]. Using this definition, in their courtly functions both *Wealththeow* and Hygd can be called *freothuwebbe* [14], and in fact *Wealththeow* is referred

to using a similar term, *frithu-sibb folca* (2016, peace-pledge of the nations). Although Sklute does not see a difference in the way the terms *freothuwebbe* and *frithu-sibb* are used in *Information antiquity*, John Hill describes a distinction hinging on the second element in the compounds, "weaving concord in contrast to kinship peace alliance." Thus, Wealhtheow acts as both. "As a link between two peoples, Wealhtheow is obviously the latter [i.e., *frithu-sibb*]; as a personage in the hall she is the former [i.e. *freothuwebbe*]" [15]. Though I use the modern English term "peaceweaver" for Hildeburh and Freawaru I want it to be clear that I am referring to their functions as *frithu-sibb*, women given in marriage as a peacekeeping force between rival groups.

The story of Hildeburh is told by a *scop* in Heorot following Information antiquity's defeat of Grendel (1071- 1158). She was the daughter of the king of the Danes and was married off to Finn, king of the Jutes. In one respect she succeeded in her duty: she had at least one son, a representation of the mingling of the blood between the two tribes [16]. Unfortunately the match did not keep the tribes from fighting, and Hildeburh ended up losing her son, brother, and husband, and was taken back to her people, the Danes. Far from being simply a *geomuru ides* (mournful woman, 1075), Hildeburh and her position of being pulled, as it were, between two loyalties, is central in the story. The *scop* narrates the story in relation to her: the story begins and ends with her, and she is mentioned in the middle. Except perhaps for Hengest, the story tells us more about Hildeburh's viewpoint than that of anyone else.

Reading from an anthropological point of view, Hildeburh's story illustrates the conflict between the peaceweaver's marriage tribe and birth tribe, and an answer (at least within the society of the poem) of which one was to take precedence. After the first battle, the one in which Hildeburh's son and brother are killed, the *scop* says, "blameless she was deprived of her dear ones at the shield-play, of son and brother; wounded by spears they fell to their fate. That was a mournful woman" (1072- 1075). The poet does not mention any grief resulting from the death of her husband, nor does he register any wish on her part that the murders of son and brother *not* be avenged. This indicates Hildeburh's continuing close relationship to her birth people [17]. If Hildeburh's loyalties were naturally with her people, then she would naturally mourn for those folks who shared her blood. Also, at the end of the story, Hildeburh returns to her people (*leodum*) - that is, the Danes. Although she was married into a non-Danish tribe (we do not know for how long - at least long enough to have a child of fighting age), she is still considered a Danish queen, and the Danes still think of her as one of their own [18].

The story of Hildeburh offers a doorway into discussion of an issue near to that of matrilocality and matrilineity mentioned above in relation to Hygd: that of the closeness between a woman's sons and her brother (SiSo-MoBr). This is-

sue is discussed in detail by Rolf H. Bremmer, Jr., who examines SiSo-MoBr in non-literary sources, as well as in *Information antiquity*, and even suggests that Wiglaf is the son of *Information antiquity's* sister [19]. Throughout *Information antiquity*, the poet emphasizes this special relationship. *Information antiquity* and Hygelac, one pair of SiSo-MoBr, are mentioned in detail above. Hildeburh is the one sister and mother in *Information antiquity* who is active as the connection between her male sibling and child. Hildeburh's brother, Hnef, and her son are killed in battle, and the poet does not say whether her son was fighting with his father or his uncle. He does say that, after Hnef's pyre is built and his body set upon it, Hildeburh has her son laid with him and they are cremated together. "Then Hildeburh commanded at Hnef's pyre that her own son be consigned to the flames to be burnt, flesh and bone, placed on the pyre at his uncle's shoulder . . ." (1114-1117). Through this action, Hildeburh emphasizes that her son is *hers*, not her husband's. Her son is to be associated with his uncle, her brother, and the Danish people.

Freawaru plays a much smaller role in the poem than Hildeburh [20]. After *Information antiquity* returns to Hygelac he tells a story of perceived insult and revenge surrounding the marriage of Hrothgar's daughter to Ingeld, son of Froda, king of the Heathobards, whom the Danes have defeated in the past. The plan of marriage is clearly one of peaceweaving (2026-2029). *Information antiquity's* description of Freawaru is fairly incidental to the story; she mainly serves as a way of introduction to the conflict. He tells how she went about the court, offering the cup to warriors [21]. He then describes what he fears the outcome of her marriage will be. At the feast following the wedding, an aging warrior will recognize the Heathobard treasures being carried by the Danes and will urge the younger thanes to battle, and not even the finest bride will be able to stop them (2029-2031). Though Freawaru's part in all this is admittedly quite small, she is nevertheless a character central to the story.

III. Chapter three: Mother and Thryth

The final pair of women, Grendel's Mother and Thryth, are two very different types of monsters who act as counter-examples to the hostesses and peaceweavers. First, they act in a more masculine manner than do the other women. Rather than using words or marriage to exert influence, they use physical strength and weapons. They do not welcome visitors into their homes. They are hostile hostesses, "using the sword to rid their halls of intruders or unwanted "hall-guests"" [22]. They are strife-weavers who are content to use violence to settle their disputes. Thryth was a princess who used to kill the men who came into her hall. The poet comments that this sort of behavior, even by a beautiful queen, should not be tolerated (1940-1943). Grendel's mother also attacks anyone who would come into her hall, as she did with *Information antiquity*. Both women are finally tamed, Thryth by her marriage to Offa, and Grendel's mother by the death inflicted upon her by *Information antiquity* [23]. Grendel's mother and Thryth, however, are also very dif-

ferent from each other, much more different than either Wealhtheow and Hygd or Hildeburh and Freawaru.

Thryth is an evil woman, guilty of terrible crimes (*firen ondrysne*), but nevertheless she is also described as a famous folk queen (*fremu folces cwen*) [24], lady (*idese*), and even peaceweaver (*freothu-webbe*) [25], which she decidedly is not. These descriptive terms illustrate one major difference between Thryth and Grendel's mother: Thryth functions within society. As the daughter of a king she has social status, and although her actions are not praiseworthy the poet does not condemn her as a person. She is also capable of change through the influence of society. After her marriage, a social event, her attitude changes. "She caused less calamity to the people, less malicious evil . . . famous for good things, [she] used well her life while she had it, held high love with that chief of heroes . . ." (1946-1947 and 1953-1954).

Throughout her story, Grendel's mother is described as an evil, masculine, monstrous woman, and never with such positive terms as are used in reference to Thryth. She is described as a monster woman (or perhaps warrior-woman, *aglec-wif*, 1259) [26], greedy, grim minded (*gifre ond galg- mod*, 1277), and is associated with the descendents of Cain (1260-1268), the ultimate (and first) evil human. She is also referred to using a term always used in reference to female humans, never animals, and usually reserved for noble women: *ides* (1351). The use of this term indicates that Grendel's mother, though she is in some way cursed by God, and monstrous, is nevertheless a human [27]. This fact brings up some problems related to her ability to avenge the death of her son. As it is stated at the beginning of the poem, Grendel and his mother are outcasts from society (106-114) and therefore, perhaps, are not held to the same societal expectations as other people. For example, Grendel is described as being unwilling (or unable) to receive treasure from the king because God, who banished Cain from humankind, likewise banished his offspring (168- 169) [28]. However a few lines earlier the poem says that Grendel did not wish to end the killing by a payment of wergild (154-158). Perhaps the banishment was in fact partially self-inflicted. In any case, some scholars have used these reasons to argue that Grendel and his mother were not considered as subject to the laws of society and were therefore unable to participate in the laws concerning wergild and vengeance killing [29]. Other scholars, from the evidence of the text itself, have argued that Grendel's mother was capable of and even respected for attempting to avenge her son [30]. Through my own familiarity with the text I am inclined to agree with those scholars who view Grendel's mother as law abiding, if not fully accepted by society, in her search for justice.

Grendel's mother, despite the poet's own words (1282-1284), is a hardier opponent than her son was, and she is certainly physically capable of carrying out her desired vengeance. Compare her entry into Heorot with that of Gren-

del [31]. Although when she approaches the hall Grendel's mother is frightened and wishes to leave as soon as possible, her presence has a stronger influence on the sleeping thanes than does Grendel's (1279-1295). When Grendel first enters Heorot (115-125) he takes 30 men, and yet his work is not discovered until the next morning. In his second entry (720- 749), he tears the door open and walks into the middle of a room filled with sleeping warriors. Not only were they able to sleep despite their knowledge that he was coming, they also apparently sleep through the destruction of the door. Grendel is able to grab one man and almost grab another before Information antiquity begins their battle. It is only then that the sleeping thanes awake. When Grendel's mother enters, however, her mere presence awakens the men. There is no warning, they did not know that she was coming (as far as they knew, danger died with Grendel), and the poet gives no indication that she made any noise when she came into the hall. The warriors, however, wake immediately. "She reached Heorot, where the Ring-Danes slept throughout the building; sudden turnabout came to men, when Grendel's mother broke into the hall" (1279-1282). They are seized by a terror (*broga*) and do not even think of donning armor before they grab their weapons (1290-1291). This is only one example of the contrast evident between Grendel and his mother [32].

Through this short analysis of the roles of the women in *Information antiquity*, I have endeavored to show the centrality of female characters to the poem. In the form of the work, the presentation of these women is purposefully symmetrical, inviting comparisons and contrasts. Those women who act as hostesses and peaceweavers, even while looking out for their own interests, are central to the poem, and an understanding of the functions of the women in *Information antiquity* assists the comprehension of a complex poem. Those women presented as monsters, the hostile hostesses and strife-weavers, are interesting in themselves, and also serve as counter-examples to the other female characters. A thorough investigation of the relationships between the women and their men uncovers possibilities of a matrilineal undercurrent in the culture of *Information antiquity*, which may indicate a dim memory of a pagan Germanic past for the Anglo-Saxon poet. Though they are all defined by the men that they are close to, either sons, fathers, or brothers, none of the women in *Information antiquity* are marginal or excluded.

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I study / my dream job – Testimonials

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Abstract

"I started English classes at the age of 9. The teacher was not particularly fun and friendly, but I did not care, I thought it was fantastic to be able to understand and speak another language!

I was so happy to have made this discovery that I wanted to share it with everyone, and the best way to pass on a language was for me to teach it. Since then, this desire to become a teacher has not left me.

My vocation having appeared so early, the choice of my studies was not very complicated. I was one of the lucky and lucky people who already knew where to go and how.

From high school, I knew that I was going to write a baccalaureate and that I would finish in English. Finally, I first went through a provincial preparatory class, before finishing with a degree in English.

"Keywords: Testimonial, Classical bulletin, study

Introduction

When I was in elementary school, I dreamed of being a doctor. When I arrived at college, I realized that science subjects did not please me more than that. In high school, thanks to the audiovisual option, I discovered the trades of cine-

ma, which I have a long tempted tempted (editor in particular), but the precariousness of the job a little put off.

I was looking for a profession oriented rather literary, with a part of creativity but also a scientific approach and human contact, and then something that is varied, that makes me move a little. In short, a beautiful melting pot!

It was a friend who told me about the profession of speech therapist, whom I knew from a distance. I inquired, I made contact with a speech therapist, and as the testimonials and research, I realized that it could really fit me!

Today I am only in second year, but studies and internships confirm my conviction that this job is done for me! The patient goes from the newborn to the aging person. The pathologies are very varied, and we have the opportunity to work as a freelancer, as an employee in a structure or in between. "

Discovering what we would like can take time, and the job that makes us dream is not always the one we thought child. Nemesis explains:

When discussing the commemoration of *Yom HaShoah* in 1997, one British journalist observed that the "desire to commemorate the Holocaust is so acute that Jews have a special day set aside on which to do so."⁷ This short article concluded with the reflections of William D. Rubinstein that the Holocaust "was such a traumatic, central event in modern Jewish history that if anything there is more of a desire to commemorate it, not less. It's more real to modern people than events of biblical times."⁸ Although recognising the need for members of the Jewish community to commemorate the Holocaust this article offered no suggestion that a day devoted to Holocaust remembrance was necessary for wider British society. The fact that this was not mentioned is indicative of the place of the Holocaust in British culture in the 1990s. It was not that the British people were unaware of the Holocaust or its significance, nor was it the case that they were callously indifferent. It was more that the event itself remained on the margins of mainstream society and culture. This is not the space to explore the changing shape of British engagement with the Holocaust in the post-war years but, in essence, it can be said that "awareness of and interest in the Holocaust was generally confused and contradictory, fluctuant and turbid" in the decades following 1945.⁹ That being said the early years of the 1990s had been marked by an increasing engagement with the Holocaust and the decade bore witness to an evolution in the development of British Holocaust consciousness. The culmination of a variety of factors including the success of *Schindler's List* and the multitude of public acts of remembrance which had taken place across the country in 1995 to mark the fiftieth anniversaries of the liberation of the camps of Auschwitz-Birkenau and Bergen-Belsen all encouraged greater awareness of the genocide. Nonetheless, the Holocaust was commemorated as part of a more holistic memory of the Second World War, often projected through the lens of British moral superiority and accompanied by allusions to the myth of societal cohesion and accolades to British heroism in the face of German tyranny. In short, the Second World War, not the Holocaust, was the central focus of the fiftieth anniversaries.¹⁰ This was, however,

soon to change when the inaugural Holocaust Memorial Day took place on 27 January 2001. The establishment of the day marked the biggest shift towards a sustained and deliberate institutional engagement with the Holocaust since the subject became a mandatory part of the National Curriculum for British Secondary Schools in 1991.

The creation of the day itself certainly “followed an international trend” towards more co-ordinated commemoration of the Holocaust.¹¹ Despite the clear influence of European and international engagement with the Holocaust on the evolution of British Holocaust consciousness, however, Britain did not simply import transnational trends in Holocaust education and commemoration. Such “reductionist interpretations” are, as Andy Pearce rightly states, “fundamentally flawed” and imply indifference or apathy in Britain towards developing its own institutionalized Holocaust consciousness.¹² Contrary to such interpretations the day emerged as a result of interweaving international and domestic influences including lobbying by interested parties, burgeoning political interest within the Labour Party and Government, and the domestic turn towards civic morality and multicultural ideals. To suggest that the nation state is the sole mediator and container of the past is, as Levy and Sznajder observe, “a breathtakingly unhistorical assertion” and it is certainly not the intention of this article to suggest otherwise.¹³ Whilst transnationalism and the so-called ‘cosmopolitan memory’ have certainly helped in shaping Holocaust discourse in 21st century Britain this trend is still in what Emiliano Perra describes as the “embryonic” stage of development.¹⁴ As Jean Marc Dreyfus suggests, in the end “Holocaust memory is in fact only superficially globalized. Each country actually renationalizes it” and, as such, is still in essence continually being shaped by national considerations and interpretations of identity.¹⁵

Scholars’ reactions to the announcement of a day of Holocaust remembrance varied. David Cesarani, who later became a founding trustee of the Holocaust Memorial Day Trust, emphasized the inherent value in having a day in the national calendar that could act as “contested terrain for interpretations of the Holocaust and genocide.”¹⁶ Others, most notably Donald Bloxham, Dan Stone and Tony Kushner, were far more wary about the lack of confrontation with some of the more difficult questions associated with the day, including amongst others the failure to address the issue of Britain’s own colonial past.¹⁷

Tensions and conflicts surrounding the day were also to enter the public and political spheres before the inaugural ceremony in what Yair Auron describes as “a particularly stormy controversy” over the exclusion of victims of the Armenian genocide from the commemorative program.¹⁸ The omission of any reference to Armenia in the conceptualization of the day was quickly noted by journalist Robert Fisk who referred to the exclusion as an act of “sheer political cowardice” on the part of the British government.¹⁹ Initial efforts by the Anglo-Armenian community to be represented during the first Holocaust Memorial Day came to no avail but interest in, and growing criticism of, the absence of Armenia gained momentum in the national press. Reflecting growing public interest in this decision, representatives from the Home Office were asked during a House of Commons debate in November 2000 whether the Government

would include any reference to the massacre of Armenians during the commemoration of the Holocaust Memorial Day. The Minister of State for Immigration, Mike O'Brien reiterated the government's line that:

Holocaust Memorial Day is focused on learning the lessons of the Holocaust and other more recent atrocities that raise similar issues. We took a conscious decision to focus on events around the Holocaust and thereafter, although we did examine requests to consider the atrocities and other events that preceded the Holocaust... It is always difficult to draw a line and wherever it is drawn it runs the risk of being misinterpreted.²⁰

Nonetheless, for many the marginalisation of the genocide undermined the entire ethos of a day commemorating the Holocaust. Mark Levene attributed this lack of inclusion and the British government's persistent failure to recognise the Armenian genocide to "the government's current political sensitivities, not only with regard to any direct relationship with Turkey but, much more profoundly, as a result of the complex set of interconnections enmeshing Britain within the Atlantic alliance."²¹ Levene's interpretation that present-day political concerns took precedence over the legitimate acknowledgement and commemoration of the Armenian genocide was shown to be justified after the release of a Foreign Office memorandum stating that whilst the British government would be "open to criticism in terms of the ethical dimension [...] recognising the genocide would provide no practical benefit to the UK" particularly in light of the importance of the British relationship with Turkey.²²

In an attempt to deflect growing anger from interested parties, a small number of representatives from the Armenian community were invited to attend the inaugural ceremony "after the event was seen to be in danger of descending into an unseemly row over recognition between different groups."²³ It was also agreed that the "massacre of Armenians" could be referred to by the BBC and within the ceremony itself.²⁴ Armenia, however, has remained a topic of debate over the years, particularly in 2015 with the centenary of the event. In response to the heightened arguments surrounding Britain's lack of recognition of this genocide, rather euphemistically dubbed as the Armenian "tragedy," the British Government shifted its position preferring to account for this lack of engagement by suggesting that:

"...the British Government recognise as genocide only those events found to be so by international courts – for example the Holocaust and the massacres in Srebrenica and Rwanda. We do not exercise a political judgement in ascribing the term "genocide" to a set of events, whether in Armenia, the Holodomor in Ukraine or the massacres of the Kurds by Saddam Hussein in 1998."²⁵

The decision by the British government to frame their interpretation of genocide as those decreed by international courts, as opposed to genocide as it is defined by the 1948 UN Convention on Genocide reflects the tension between officially remembering the Holocaust and remembering other genocides in contemporary society. The response to criticism of the omission provided by Neil Frater, a representative from the Home Office's Race Equality Unit responsible for overseeing the consultation process for Holocaust Memorial Day, provided a fascinating insight into the confusion endemic to the concep-

tualisation of the day itself. Although referring to the atrocities in Armenia as “an appalling tragedy” and offering the British government’s “sympathies” to the descendants of those who had perished, after consulting with the Holocaust Memorial Day Steering Group the decision was taken not to include Armenia in the day “to avoid the risk of the message becoming too diluted if we try to include too much history.”²⁶ This fear that the message of the day might become too ‘diluted’ raises significant questions about the way in which the Holocaust intersects with other genocides in British consciousness and, in turn, what exactly the ‘message’ of the day is intended to be.

Although the Holocaust was the principal hub around which this day had been created, incorporating other genocides also appeared to be one of the main objectives of the day. In the program created to accompany the 2001 inaugural memorial service at Westminster Abbey, Home Secretary Jack Straw noted that “Holocaust Memorial Day is about learning the lessons of the Holocaust and other more recent atrocities that raise similar issues.”²⁷

The supposed emphasis on ‘more recent’ genocides not only ensured that Armenia did not, and does not, feature prominently within the remembrance day but also led to the somewhat uneven treatment of past genocides in British commemoration. Other genocides that have occurred since the Holocaust, in particular those committed in Bosnia and Rwanda, have to varying degrees come to be absorbed into the day of remembrance. Yet the position of the Holocaust as the central genocide of the day, and the subsequent hierarchy of suffering this implies, has been evident since the opening ceremony. The official program for Holocaust Memorial Day 2001 asserted that “over 169,000,000 people died during the 20th century as a result of state sponsored mass murder” before going on to clarify the government’s position that “among them all, the Holocaust stands out as an example at the extreme.”²⁸ Sentiments such as these articulated the extent to which the Holocaust was designed to be the main focus of the day. The strapline “Remembering Genocides: Lessons for the Future” was, Cesarani noted, only included due to criticism of the apparent focus on the Jewish victims of Nazi persecution.²⁹

What then of the ‘message’ that the Government was trying to convey? The message that, they feared, would be so easily diluted by “too much history”? When announcing the establishment of the day, Tony Blair articulated his hope that, “Holocaust Memorial Day will be a day when we reflect and remember and give our commitment and pledge that the terrible and evil deeds done in our world should never be repeated.”³⁰ The way in which both this and later memorial days were framed reveals the start of an institutional trend with regards to how the Holocaust was thought about in the opening years of the 21st century. This distinctive trend encouraged the abstraction and decontextualisation of the Holocaust within British consciousness in which its ‘lessons’ center on tolerance and anti-racism. This abstraction can ultimately be seen in the “unmooring of the Holocaust from its historical specificity and its circulation instead as an abstract code for Evil and thus as the model for a potential antiracist and human rights politics.”³¹

In its formative years, responsibility for the day lay under the auspices of the Home Office and the Department for Education and Skills. In 2005, however, the independent charitable organization the Holocaust Memorial Day Trust (HMDT) was established to promote, support and deliver Holocaust Memorial Day to the country on behalf of the British government. Although the HMD is now run independently from the government, it continues to be centrally funded and is therefore still reflective of official policy. Despite this continuity, the creation of the HMDT had considerable implications for the way in which the Memorial Day was framed over the following years.

Every year the Memorial Day is based on a specific theme, thereby providing “a focus for events and education in local and national commemorations.”³² The inaugural ceremony “Remembering Genocides: Lessons for the Future” was followed by “Britain and the Holocaust” (2002) and “Children and the Holocaust” (2003). Although these themes aroused controversy, they also contained the potential for historical rootedness and even critical self-reflection, as in the case of the 2002 theme “Britain and the Holocaust.” On that occasion, the theme paper referred to the fact that the “ambiguity of Britain’s response to Nazi tyranny and racism is lodged in our heritage,” and that such ambiguity acted as “an inspiration, a warning and a guide.”³³

After the establishment of HMDT, however, there was a shift towards more abstract themes promoting civil morality and democratic values. The emphasis on the “lessons” that contemporary society could draw from the event became increasingly more central to the day than engagement with the historical event itself. This emphasis on moral instruction as opposed to encouraging critical reflection has been termed by Donald Bloxham as being the “pathos approach” to Holocaust commemoration and education, favoring moral judgment and ceremonial processes of remembrance at the expense of tackling more complex historical questions regarding how people came to commit such crimes and why they were able to do so.³⁴ The 2006 theme “One Person *Can* Make a Difference” is a case in point; people were encouraged to learn “to use one’s voice to enhance positive human values.”³⁵ By the same token the 2008 theme “Imagine... Remember, Reflect, React” “challenges us all to imagine the unimaginable” and stands as a “call to action to remember the past, reflect on the present and react to create a better future.”³⁶ The importance of remembrance was also raised by the 2015 “Keep the Memory Alive,” which in its theme paper reiterated the imperative of remembrance to ensure that “we pay respect to [the victims’] unimaginable suffering while retaining the lessons of the past for future generations.”³⁷

As the years went by the themes became ever more focused about the way in which learning from the Holocaust could generate positive active participation in contemporary society. The vision paper for the “Legacy of Hope” event in 2010 explicitly asked those participating in the day to “to look within and without, to be sure of our moral compass, to be certain of our choices and to use our voice, whenever we can, to speak out.”³⁸ Such an inducement to speak out was later encouraged by the theme vision of 2012, which specifically demanded that people “Speak up [and] Speak out” against discrimination and exclusion in their communities. Community was also at the heart of the day

the following year, “Communities Together: Build a Bridge” and the traditional ceremony was accompanied by a special public event held on the Millennium Bridge in which “members of the public signed personal statements, pledging to build a bridge in their communities for HMD.” Such shifts away from contextualised historical engagement and towards abstract identification in the service of moral civic instruction makes the government’s concern with having ‘too much history,’ especially uncomfortable history, somewhat less pressing.

Not everyone fully agreed with this approach. In discussing the reasons behind his scepticism towards Holocaust Memorial Day, the son of one survivor observed: “I suspect that it is because remembering the Holocaust has become an official ritual that allows every sanctimonious politician and public figure to put their superior moral virtues on public display.”³⁹ Increasingly, therefore, the Holocaust is not only used to advance messages of tolerance but also as an opportunity for politicians to be seen to demonstrate their own moral standing through promoting their own role in the commemorations themselves. Every year politicians are invited by the Holocaust Educational Trust to sign a Holocaust Memorial Day Book of Commitment designed to illustrate their commitment to the day of remembrance and their pledge to remember those who died. MPs ‘speak out’ against prejudice and intolerance by signing the books of remembrance.

The lucid and carefully sculpted entries of the Prime Minister of the time usually contain messages for contemporary society through platitudes such as “humanity survived our descent into evil and if we recommit today to remembrance and to resistance to evil, then that is the legacy of hope.”⁴⁰ At the same time, backbench MPs who sign the memorial books often express sentiments that never explain why “we must always remember what happened” or define exactly why “each new generation needs to know what happened.”⁴¹ The photographs taken of those members of Parliament signing the book, in turn, are then placed on individual MPs constituency website as proof of their actions and of their dedication to remembering what happened.⁴² Regardless of sincere individual commitment the cumulative effect is often that “Holocaust Memorial Day is becoming a Victorian religious rally to which the audience is urged to subscribe and those who don’t are cast as uncivilized.”⁴³

Such abstraction from critical historical understanding alongside the continual reference to Britain’s role in the Second World War ultimately reinforces understandings of a national identity built on supposed, and inherent, British values, thus validating the concern expressed as early as 2000 by Cesarani that the event might “serve to celebrate Britain’s role in defeating Nazism and its supposedly humane immigration record in the 1930s and since.”⁴⁴ Such decontextualization and abstraction is also discernible in the educational initiatives promoted by organizations committed to ensuring the Holocaust continues to have a significant presence in British culture, as will be considered in greater depth in the following section.

Education and Holocaust Memorialization

The question as to whether pedagogy has a “special and unique task in the education of man in the world after Auschwitz” has been posed repeatedly.⁴⁵ The establishment of Holocaust Memorial Day saw the firm institutionalization of the Holocaust within British society as an educational event.⁴⁶ Education certainly emerged as a significant mediator of Holocaust consciousness in the final decade of the twentieth century having become a mandatory part of the first National Curriculum for all secondary school students in England and Wales in 1991. The development of Holocaust education since this time has frequently been cited as a key turning point in terms of Britain's engagement with the Nazi genocide, signalling a shift from the institutional silences or distortions that had characterized previous decades.⁴⁷

Following the establishment of Holocaust Memorial Day, pedagogy played an even greater role in the transmission of the Holocaust in British society. As Cesarani suggested, the commemorative day “will be reinforced by an educational program informed by government departments but devolved on to educational authorities and schools around Britain.”⁴⁸ Education was thus envisaged as being the means by which critical engagement with the day, and the Holocaust, could occur. Reflecting this educational commitment, the HMDT oversaw the publication and distribution of education packs tailored around the specific theme of the year and the creation of individual resources with accompanying guidance notes for educators. Although the HMDT holds overall responsibility for the day, other educational organizations who are active throughout the year have come to assume a role in encouraging participation in HMD and in promoting Holocaust teaching and remembrance outside of this framework.

Governmental guidance for teachers on how to tackle this complex and emotive subject had been fragmentary at best during the formative years of Holocaust teaching. This perhaps accounts for the influence which non-governmental institutions like the Holocaust Educational Trust, the Imperial War Museum and Holocaust Centre have had on the shape of Holocaust education. These organizations were to play an even more significant role in promoting education and remembrance after the establishment of Holocaust Memorial Day for education, much like the community-based aspects of the day was always “intended to be driven by grassroots activists.”⁴⁹ The most significant of these is the Holocaust Educational Trust (HET), a lobby turned charitable organization formed in 1988 in the wake of the establishment of the All Party Parliamentary War Crimes Group as a means of “promoting research, supporting Holocaust education, producing resources and advancing the teaching of the Nazi genocide in educational institutions.”⁵⁰ In the years since its creation the Trust has grown to be one of the most prominent educational charities in the country.

The material being promoted by the HET was specifically designed to inspire integration, citizenship and community engagement. This mode of Holocaust education, which developed in earnest after the establishment of HMD, prioritizes the transmission and mediation of such contemporary ‘lessons’ applicable for all, reinforces a more malleable narrative of the Holocaust with recognizable pertinence for contemporary British society. As a result of this empha-

sis, it is possible to see a gradual shift promoted by HMDT and organizations such as the HET and Anne Frank Trust away from the historical context of the Holocaust in favor of imparting contemporary 'lessons' more effectively.

The question as to whether there is a possibility of 'lessons' for contemporary society being derived from the Holocaust has prompted fierce and prolonged debate between educationists and historians alike.⁵¹ These debates cannot be reproduced here but what is apparent is that the concept of 'lessons' has emerged as a dominant aspect of the way in which the Holocaust is both taught and conceptualized. Whilst this approach is reflected in other countries too, within Britain the approach to Holocaust teaching transmitted through 'lessons' for the future has achieved a particular pertinence and provides the moral justification for the continued inclusion of the Holocaust on the National Curriculum. As Andrew Burns observed, it is hoped that the "lessons from that disastrous period of history guide us in the future."⁵² Such sentiments are continually evoked in both the classroom and in wider culture and used to reflect the righteousness of Britain's moral commitment to multiculturalism or as a means of emphasizing the benefits of living in a tolerant democracy.

This move towards the Holocaust as holding 'lessons' for contemporary society can even be discerned in the shifting emphasis of the aims of the Holocaust Educational Trust. The founding aim of the Trust was originally to "show our citizens and especially our youngsters what happened when racism replaced diversity and when mass murder took over a nation."⁵³ Such an aim reflected the relative dearth of easily accessible information for students and teachers at the time and the seeming ambivalence of the wider British population towards engaging with the Holocaust. In this vein, the organization's primary purpose was to inform the British people about the subject itself. In contrast, the aim of the Trust at the present time is to "educate young people from every background about the Holocaust and the important lessons to be learned for today."⁵⁴ Other educational organizations have also adopted this conviction about moral 'lessons' being transmitted to students in a transformative manner. The Holocaust Centre in Nottingham suggests that Holocaust education can help to foster "good citizenship"⁵⁵ values whilst the London Jewish Cultural Centre claims that through learning about the Holocaust we are able to "fight prejudice and bigotry."⁵⁶ Such is the prominence of the notion of the Holocaust holding contemporary meaning applicable to daily life that the idea that the Holocaust contains 'lessons' for contemporary society is accepted almost without question in the public sphere.

Reflecting, and shaping, the significance attributed to the existence of such contemporary 'lessons' and the shift towards a more contemporary oriented Holocaust education is the Lessons from Auschwitz (LFA) project run by the Holocaust Educational Trust. Established in 1999, the LFA project is a four-part program for sixth-form students aged between 16 and 18 and teachers; it includes a one-day visit to the sites of Auschwitz I and Auschwitz II. Originally created by Rabbi Barry Marcus of the Central Synagogue in London as a way to inform the Jewish community in Britain about the Holocaust, since the adoption of the project by the Trust, the visits have now escalated to such an extent that they are a high profile vehicle through which the Holocaust is mediated to

British students.⁵⁷ The British government has funded the project since 2005 when the Treasury pledged an annual sum of £1.5million to facilitate and expand the project.

Since the adoption of the initiative by the Holocaust Educational Trust, the project has been re-oriented towards a more multicultural audience through the projection of a universalized British narrative espousing lessons for contemporary society. Following the visit to Auschwitz, as part of the Follow Up session, educators provide students with a selection of 'historical conclusions and contemporary lessons' that the Trust feels that students should learn as a result of being taught about the Holocaust.⁵⁸ These contemporary 'lessons' which students are provided with range from the fact that "Societies are made up of individuals. If we want to make the world a more humane place, we must start with our own everyday actions," to "The UK government plays a key role in global events and we, as citizens, can influence governmental policy" to "We must promote tolerance of others by recognizing the role played by all regardless of gender, race or creed."⁵⁹ Students then chose which of these contemporary concerns resonates most with them and that is then defined as being a 'lesson' of the Holocaust.

After participation in the project students become Ambassadors for the Trust. In this role, the Trust asserts, these young people become part of the "driving force behind our efforts to ensure that people across Britain understand the importance of remembering the Holocaust."⁶⁰ This is often achieved by students presenting their trip to their school, writing material for the local newspaper, discussing their visit with local community groups or planting a memorial tree and inviting those in the community to witness the dedication. As Chief Executive of the Trust Karen Pollock observed, "The inspiring work students go on to do in their local areas demonstrates the importance of the visit."⁶¹

Martin Davies has asserted that "education is a simulacrum of the society it serves."⁶² This is in part true, but it is clear that by intersecting with commemoration, education does not simply represent the society it serves but also concurs in shaping society's self-perception. Much like Holocaust Memorial Day the question with education is what exactly it hopes to achieve. Are Holocaust educators seeking to teach the history of the event or are they intending to use the Holocaust to provide moral instruction aimed at forging feelings of citizenship and a sense of identity based on democratic values? Perhaps more significantly, perhaps, what is the intention of the British Government in funding these initiatives? The message that the Government wants to mediate through education appears to be subscribing to the same "pathos" approach to the subject observed in Holocaust Memorial Day. Certainly the de-contextualization of the Holocaust, discernable in the National Curriculum in which it is compulsory to teach about the Holocaust but not mandatory to teach about the Second World War seems to point in that direction.

The use of the Holocaust to encourage civic sentiments and democratic values is certainly not unique and is situated alongside a shift in British policy towards education in response to international, and perceived domestic, threats.

The introduction of the Preventing Violent Extremism (more commonly referred to as the 'Prevent') Programme in the wake of the terror attacks of 2001 and the London bombings of 2005 to promote "mainstream British values: democracy, rule of law, equality of opportunity, freedom of speech and the rights of all men and women to live free from persecution of any kind"⁶³ is just one example of how the field of education has been recruited into helping to sculpt a sense of British identity. This was taken even further in the summer of 2015 when the Government made adherence to the program a statutory duty to respond to the "ideological threat of terrorism" and to "prevent people from being drawn into terrorism."⁶⁴ Situated alongside such discourse, and alongside institutionalized attempts to both sculpt identity and counter extremism in the age of terror, the moves in Holocaust education towards promoting citizenship and democracy reflect a more significant shift in British educational policy over the last 15 years.

An Absence of Intersections? Britishness and the Kindertransport

If education is being overtly harnessed to project supposedly 'British' values to counter subversive elements in society in the so called 'pre-criminal space' then the use of the Holocaust as a way of asserting British identity is rather more subtly employed.⁶⁵ This is often achieved by drawing on powerful and emotive 'symbols' such as Holocaust survivors, who have become integral to education in Britain, to the point that they are referred to as being the "Heart of Holocaust Education."⁶⁶ As the Holocaust Educational Trust tells students: "survivor testimonies are powerful because they challenge the process of dehumanization... we cannot imagine the numbers of people that suffered during the Holocaust... However, we can gain some understanding by focusing on the individual stories and testimonies of those who suffered and died."⁶⁷ By using survivor testimonies to encourage a focus on the individual experience, educators are trying to ensure that the victims of the Holocaust are not simply reduced to abstract figures. It is believed that, if students are able to engage with individual testimony, their understanding of human experience within an incomprehensible event can be enhanced.⁶⁸

The form of education promoted by these organizations within their Outreach programs has also helped to propel the survivor witness into the public eye, thereby ensuring that they are increasingly accessible to the public in commemorative events. The way survivors are encountered within British commemorative culture helps to perpetuate narratives of supposedly 'British' liberal democratic values. The visible position of naturalized British survivors during memorial days provides indisputable proof of the value of past British actions on the international stage whilst at the same time championing deeply ingrained self-perceptions of Britain that might end up hindering open discussion about less uplifting past and present aspects of British life.

The role of survivors in British Holocaust talk is particularly discernible in the way the theme of rescue epitomized by the Kindertransport features heavily in both education and memorialization. Referred to by the Holocaust Memorial Day Trust as a "unique humanitarian programme" the Kindertransport was

overlooked in British collective consciousness until the 50th anniversary of the transports.⁶⁹ Since that time, the Kindertransports have evolved so as to become “a source of great national pride within the British historical imagination.”⁷⁰ The British scheme to allow approximately 10,000 children into Britain following Kristallnacht on 9 November 1938 has been seen as Britain “securing the future” of those Jewish children who came to Britain.⁷¹

That the Kindertransport has become enshrined within British cultural imagination as an example of the British people rescuing thousands of innocents in a time of adversity is unsurprising. The murder of 1.5 million children, understandably, carries significant emotive power. Just as the murder of children has assumed a prominent position within Holocaust consciousness so too the rescue of children has become an equally dominant theme in British historical understanding. This was enhanced by the decision to make the “Children of the Holocaust” the theme of Holocaust Memorial Day 2003, thus highlighting the contrast between the position of Jewish children in Nazi occupied territories and the relative safety of those who had been permitted entry into Britain. This has been further reinforced by the creation of an interactive exhibition referred to as “The Journey” at The National Holocaust Centre & Museum in Nottingham. The exhibition, built primarily for the mediation of the Holocaust to primary-aged children, follows the story of 10 year old Leo Stein, a German Jewish boy who came to England as part of the Kindertransport. Given that the Holocaust, with the oft-forgotten exception of the deportation of Jews from the Channel Islands, did not take place on British soil it is perhaps not surprising that one of the most significant roles of survivors in maintaining and reinforcing a notable British connection to the Holocaust is through those who came to Britain. Popular British understanding of the Kindertransport, mediated by politicians, the media and organizations such as the Holocaust Memorial Day Trust and the Imperial War Museum is, to varying degrees, one of prevailing pride in the British rescue of thousands of Jewish children from the clutches of Nazi aggression.⁷²

One widely publicized commemorative event reinforcing this memory of Britain as a place of refuge, and in which survivors appeared to play an integral part, was the 70th anniversary re-enactment of the journey carried out by hundreds of children from Czechoslovakia to Britain in what has become known as the Winton Train, or the Czech Kindertransport. Independent of the Kindertransport operation, but often considered in conjunction with it, the rescue of 669 children by Nicholas Winton has become a significant part of British historical consciousness of the Holocaust. On 1 September 2009, in order to commemorate this act, a train carrying 170 people, including 22 of the child evacuees who were originally involved in this transport and their descendants, left Prague and followed the route taken by the original Winton Trains. They were met in London on 4 September by Nicholas Winton himself with the words, widely reported at the time, “It’s wonderful to see you all after 70 years. Don’t leave it quite so long until we meet here again.”⁷³

How can we interpret survivors’ roles in the remembrance of this event? On the one hand their presence was vital. Without the survivors the journey could not have been relived and the memory would undoubtedly have resonated

less widely with the public. Yet, conversely, whilst the survivors were necessary, their experiences were somewhat supplementary to the commemoration, which overwhelmingly centered on Winton himself. The same is also true within popular consciousness of the Kindertransport and, indeed, within wider commemoration of the Holocaust. For whilst the prominence of survivors indicates an increased engagement with them, it can also be seen to promote narratives of British heroism and righteousness.

The press contributed considerably to the perpetuation of the narrative emphasizing the salvation provided to the children admitted into Britain, many of whom are still living in this country. The BBC discussed the enactment under the heading "Czech evacuees thank their saviour."⁷⁴ In fact so dominant is the memory that the man who organized the transports from Czechoslovakia is often referred to in the British media as the "British Schindler."⁷⁵ These traditional interpretations of rescue are reinforced by the expressions of gratitude articulated by survivors themselves. One survivor, Bronia Snow, is reported as stating that in Britain she quickly became 'an Anglophile... I became appreciative of this wonderful country, its toleration, and its good manners.'⁷⁶ Sentiments such as this expressing appreciation towards Britain are frequent and extremely important when considering the role of survivors in British understanding of the Holocaust and of Britain's role within it. Survivors' political value does not only lie in the messages of humanity politicians want to promote but also in the relationship they appear to have with the country in which they found refuge.⁷⁷

Due to the emotiveness of the subject, the expressions of gratitude expressed by survivors and the political pride articulated during commemorative activities, the Kindertransport and the Winton Train have been absorbed within British historical consciousness as acts of rescue representative of tolerance and liberalism at a time when other nations were embracing Fascism. Through replicating the journey of the Winton Train the notion of British rescue, an already powerful story, became firmly entrenched in Britain's Holocaust consciousness. It was not so much the Jewish children but the British man who rescued them who took center stage during the commemorative events. As a result, the survivors are necessary to the story not because of what their experiences reveal about the Holocaust but because of what their presence in Britain reinforces about British identity and past benevolence. This of course should not suggest a belittling of Winton's achievements, nor the achievement of the Kindertransports, but rather that to consider them critically would create a more grounded historical consciousness and place British attitudes both in the past and in the present within a more contextualized and historically nuanced understanding. Instead, the way in which the Kindertransport and British attitudes towards immigration are remembered circumvent difficult questions and risk turning a complex and multifaceted event into a simple redemptive narrative. As Louise London suggests, "a gulf exists" between the memory and history of British engagement with its past when considering this period and, in particular, the notion of providing a safe haven for all those who required it.⁷⁸

Despite the presence of survivors, the historical consciousness promoted is not one primarily about their experiences but, increasingly, about British pride. This positive narrative does not account for the fact that, as Mark Mazower has noted, despite Britain 'priding itself on its tolerance and liberalism, it has in fact only accepted Jews on certain conditions and requires their conformism and assimilation.'⁷⁹ Thus, the position of the survivor in contemporary Holocaust discourse allows for the continuation of a somewhat mythical remembrance both of the Holocaust and of British treatment of the "Other." This constellation is at the core of statements such as, for example, that of Ian Austin MP:

"It is true that our country did not do enough, of course, and that it could have done more, and sooner, but no one can deny that when other countries were rounding up their Jews Britain provided a safe haven. It was British troops, as we have heard, who liberated the concentration camps, rescuing tens of thousands of inmates from almost certain death and enabling many of those to go on and prosper under the democratic values of the UK."⁸⁰

The domestication of Holocaust survivors and their experiences in education, together with the relative de-contextualization of the Holocaust in the commemorative sphere, combine to reinforce a narrative that, whilst emphasizing the centrality of the Holocaust, also runs the risk distancing Britain from Europe in British imagination.

European Holocaust Consciousness or Domesticated Holocaust Identity?

The way in which the Holocaust has come to be absorbed into British consciousness since 2001 reflects the inherent tensions between the decontextualized narrative that has evolved in British Holocaust education and commemoration, and the subsequent impact this narrative has had on contemporary conceptualization of British national identity. These conceptualizations based on representations of the Holocaust also intersect with dominant narratives of the Second World War and influence understandings of Britain's place in Europe. British narratives of the war and the Holocaust present distinctive features. As Mark Donnelly noted, despite being "a global conflict which killed some 60 million and which left the legacy of Auschwitz, Hiroshima and countless acts of barbarism [the war] has evoked nostalgia, pride and even sentimentality in Britain."⁸¹

It is certainly difficult to separate the memory of the Holocaust from the memory of the British defeat of Nazism and the prevailing of democratic ideals. As a member of the House of Lords declared during a debate to discuss the 50th anniversary of the end of hostilities, "after many years of fighting and after much travail the Allies succeeded in defeating a determined, efficient and dedicated enemy and it is right and fitting that we recall that feat of arms. Secondly, for us and for many of our allies the end of the war represented a triumph for democracy and for democratic ideals."⁸² Since the establishment of Holocaust Memorial Day, however, the Holocaust has become increasingly central to popular understandings of the past and interpretations of British

identity. As Andrew Dismore MP noted, “the need to commemorate the Holocaust applies in Britain as much as anywhere. Our country made terrible sacrifices to defeat Hitler. The period of Nazism and the Second World War remain a defining episode in our national psyche.”⁸³ Subsequently, the association between Britain, the Second World War and the Holocaust in cultural imagination contribute to a sense of identity built on pride in British heroism during this time not only in resisting Fascism but also for liberating Holocaust survivors, and the rest of Europe, from the yolk of Nazism. That this pride has not abated and that this narrative has continued to be perpetuated, was illustrated by an Early Day Motion, tabled in 2006, concerning the recognition of the newly established Veterans Day (renamed Armed Forces Day in 2009) which asserted that the House of Commons recognizes that:

“the courage and sacrifice of British servicemen made during the Second World War was paramount to saving victims of the Holocaust; notes that on 15th April 1945 British troops liberated the Bergen-Belsen Nazi concentration camp, rescuing tens of thousands of inmates from certain death; further notes the compassion, hope and freedom that liberators gave back to the Holocaust survivors, many of whom have prospered under the democratic values of the UK.”⁸⁴

The narrative presented by this EDM is, of course, extremely simplistic, if anything for its failure to reflect the complexities of the immediate post-liberation period during which almost 14,000 people died within the camp.⁸⁵

Of course national ‘myths’, and the subsequent interpretations of identity they inspire, tend not to develop around negative actions of the state and are instead shaped around the affirmation of a positive self-identity through the assertion of supposed national values such as heroism, liberal democracy or tolerance. Yet this is also achieved by positioning the perceived characteristics of the nation against the actions and characteristics of the ‘Other’. In the immediate aftermath of the war and the liberation of the camps “Britain and its allies had begun to carve out for themselves a new role as the moral teachers of a defeated Germany.”⁸⁶ The British government and the British public embraced the role of moral guide, fueled by the sense of entitlement resulting from being the nation that had not succumbed to Nazism. Rather than considering key figures such as Irma Grese and Josef Kramer as being solely responsible for the crimes that they had committed, they were also “dismissed as typical Germans, the products of a warped and diseased nation.”⁸⁷ The acts of those SS guards within the camps were now being viewed by the British public as representing an entire nation of depraved and bestial “barbarians” who needed to be re-educated before they could be reintegrated into international society.⁸⁸ Situated against prevailing sentiments regarding British heroism and valor such depravity exemplified the superiority of British national character.

The way in which the Holocaust was encountered in these early months has helped to shape a self-perception of Britain as a nation of tolerance situated against the negative characteristics of the ‘Other’. This self-image, drawn from the domesticated narrative of the past and of Britain’s perceived role within

history, encourages a particular sense of entitlement to international leadership, particularly with regards to issues with moral or humanitarian implications. When asked about the importance of Holocaust Memorial Day the newly appointed United Kingdom Envoy for post-Holocaust issues stated that Holocaust commemoration was crucial for Britain, observing that, “we, of course historically, we were the country that stood up to Nazism, and in the early days of the war... And I think we have a lot of good things to, not to preach to other people, but there’s good practice in the UK and so if we’re active we can spread that good practice around Europe.”⁸⁹ This evocation of British values during the Second World War and British actions in ‘liberating’ survivors of the Holocaust thus allows politicians, and the British public, to maintain a position of moral superiority within the global arena whilst encouraging the view that other countries should be grateful for British heroism and disinterested benevolence. As one MP declared in 2012:

“when other countries were rounding up their Jews and herding them on to trains to the gas chamber, Britain provided a safe haven for tens of thousands of refugee children. Think of Britain in the thirties. The rest of Europe was succumbing to fascism... but, here in Britain, Mosley was rejected. Imagine 1941: France invaded, Europe overrun, America not yet in the war and just one country standing for liberty and democracy, a beacon to the rest of the world, fighting not just for our freedom, but for the world’s liberty.”⁹⁰

Reflecting the Early Day Motion discussed previously, this rhetoric is also rooted in misconception. The reality is of course that Britain did not go to war for the liberty of the Jewish people, and the government were at pains to prove the opposite at the time; moreover, whilst Mosley was rejected, antisemitism was still a potent if less violent force in British society; furthermore, although the Kindertransport memory is one in which Britain takes solace, resistance towards further Jewish immigration was rife. Nor does this pride in British values take into account issues surrounding immigration either past or present in British society or Britain’s own role in acts of genocide and colonial violence.

The imperial decline of Britain in the wake of the cessation of hostilities in 1945 has ultimately meant that politicians and the wider population have clung to the lingering memories of as the Second World War to sustain pride in British national character. The unfortunate outcome is that introspective analysis of both historical events and British actions (or lack thereof) in the present is lacking. The Holocaust is certainly not alone in being represented in this way. Even the Armenian genocide, which as previously discussed Britain has not officially recognized, is sculpted around a highly selective narrative that seeks to characterize Britain’s historical response as equally positive. When discussing the genocide in 2015 the Minister for Europe reflected on the fact that “the British Government of that time robustly condemned the forced deportations, massacres and other crimes. We continue to endorse that view. British charities, as we look back, played a major part then in humanitarian relief operations.”⁹¹

The period after the General Elections of 2010 saw a newly invigorated political impetus towards a domestic commitment to ensuring the future of Holo-

caust remembrance, education and commemoration in British society and culture. This renewed sense of commitment to Holocaust education was not necessarily anticipated. Although the establishment of Holocaust Memorial Day had achieved cross-party support, the decisive shift towards the greater institutionalization of Holocaust memorialization and education in the first decade of the 21st century had overwhelmingly been championed by the Labour governments led by Tony Blair and Gordon Brown. Following the General Election of May 2010, however, the Labour Party's 13 years in power came to a close after the creation of a coalition government led by the Conservative Party alongside the Liberal Democrats. Like the rest of the country, those invested in Holocaust education and remembrance faced a period of considerable uncertainty about what the future would hold for Britain as they waited to hear how the shift in governmental control of the country would impact the future direction of these spheres of Holocaust memory. Their concern was understandable and was reinforced by the fact that in 2008 *The Guardian* had reported that the then leader of the Conservative party David Cameron referred to day trips to Auschwitz as among some of the many 'gimmicks' funded by the sitting Labour government. The inference that this popular program was simply a "short term gimmick" generated a swift popular, and political, backlash that was played out across the pages of the national press.⁹²

Contrary to these concerns, however, the new government not only pledged their support for the Lessons from Auschwitz program but also expressed its determination to augment the place of the Holocaust within British consciousness. Reflecting this shift was the announcement of an Envoy for Post Holocaust Issues in June 2010. The statements accompanying the announcement of this role, and the sentiments they expressed, were revealing about the way in which Britain was choosing to situate itself in regards to the wider European context of Holocaust memorialization. Following his appointment, the new Envoy Sir Andrew Burns claimed that "the UK already plays a leading and active role in promoting Holocaust education, remembrance and research, in tackling and resolving outstanding issues and claims and in raising public awareness of the continuing relevance of the lessons and legacy of that terrible moment in European history."⁹³ The explicit reference to the UK as being a leading figure in the sphere of Holocaust education and remembrance was reiterated by Burns' successor, Sir Eric Pickles, who used his opening statement as an opportunity to praise the fact that "the UK is a leader internationally in ensuring the Holocaust is properly commemorated and the lessons learnt" and to pledge his commitment "to ensuring we retain and build on this position over the years to come."⁹⁴

Whilst acknowledging that "the UK has taken an increasingly active approach to preserving the memory of the Holocaust," the new Foreign Secretary William Hague went on to suggest that although "this has worked well to date [...]" I am concerned that the UK is not taking the leading role it should in these international discussions or best representing the interests of the many Holocaust victims and their families in the UK affected by these issues."⁹⁵ The expression of such sentiments not only implies the need for Britain to show greater initiative in international discussions about the Holocaust but also ar-

articulates idea that the UK can, and *should*, be taking a leading role within the international community. The sense of British exceptionalism encountered within historical conceptualizations of the Second World War appears to be situated alongside an on-going quest and “deep craving” for leadership which, Anne Deighton suggests, is “one facet of what has remained of Britain’s post-imperial political culture.”⁹⁶

The danger of connecting the Holocaust with overt expressions of British identity is that it allows the perpetuation, and indeed evolution of, a post-imperial identity based on positive notions of liberal democracy and tolerance that ignores or omits critical evaluation of Britain’s own past actions of atrocity and state crimes whilst also helping to defend limited responses to humanitarian crises in the current time. It is certainly the case, as Bloxham and Kushner have observed, that in “Britain racism is often seen as someone else’s problem - particularly the Germans since the Second World War - yet it does not take a fascist regime for the proliferation and implementation of racism to take place.”⁹⁷ Through the repetition of such sentiments a considered and critical self-reflection is discouraged whilst also distancing Britain from Europe by drawing on past ‘achievements’ such as not being invaded during World War Two (aside from the Channel Islands) and through acts such as the Kindertransport or the Winton Train. As Mark Levene observed in 2006, “the underlying spuriousness, indeed mendacity of Britain’s recent foreign policy record destroys any moral basis upon which it can make claim, let alone offer leadership on the basis of any Holocaust association.”⁹⁸ Considering the conflicts which Britain has participated in in the years since this article was published, and the apathetic if not outright callous treatment of refugees fleeing conflict in Syria in 2015 and 2016, one is entitled to question the truthfulness of British claims to moral distinction and the extent to which Holocaust ‘lessons’ can really be said to be learnt.

The years after 2010 were, however, defined by the establishment of initiatives similar to that of the Envoy designed to expand, develop and reinforce the British government’s commitment to, and leadership in, Holocaust education and commemoration. Following a plea from the Auschwitz-Birkenau Foundation, the UK pledged 2.1 million pounds of financial assistance to enable restorative work to take place at the site to ensure the preservation of the camps as a place of commemoration, education and remembrance.⁹⁹ Such financial commitment was also to enter the domestic landscape with the Prime Minister committing an additional £300,000 worth of funding for the Lessons from Auschwitz project in 2013. The Holocaust Educational Trust were not only to feature as recipients of financial support but were also to feature significantly in this drive by returning more visibly to their earlier lobbyist roots by encouraging further public commemoration of the Holocaust, the survivors and the liberators. In 2009, MPs drafted Early Day Motion 1175 calling for “Recognition for British Heroes of the Holocaust” in honor of those who had performed acts of rescue. Whilst a number of those had been named as Righteous among the Nations in Israel, the campaign highlighted the fact that none of those who had initiated acts of rescue had been honored within Britain itself. Despite this omission, as the *Jewish Chronicle* reported, “such individuals

embody all that is best about Britain - and deserve formal recognition, not only to acknowledge their deeds but to serve as an example to future generations about the importance of making a stand against racism, discrimination and other forms of injustice.”¹⁰⁰ The creation of this award was the result of many months of forceful campaigning by the Trust for institutional recognition of their actions.

In a similar vein it was announced in 2015 that Holocaust survivors across the United Kingdom were to receive commemorative medals “to mark 70 years since the end of the Holocaust.”¹⁰¹ The medals, another initiative of the Holocaust Educational Trust, featured the inscription ‘Liberation 1945’ emerging through barbed wire on one side and on the other an inscription to commemorate the British forces who liberated the camp of Bergen-Belsen and “a stylised eternal flame” that, it was claimed, “has come to memorialise the Holocaust victims.”¹⁰² The medals were awarded to Holocaust survivors at a special ceremony presided over by the Chancellor of the Exchequer who stated that, “here we stand in Downing Street in tribute to fight against Nazism. In tribute to the millions who died. In tribute to the brave survivors. In tribute to the liberators.”¹⁰³ Echoing the Heroes of the Holocaust awards the emphasis on Britain as liberators and as defenders of freedom and liberty dominated the official rhetoric of the day as Holocaust survivors were, once again, absorbed into a domesticated narrative of national distinctiveness and superiority.

The Home Secretary’s desire for Britain to take a more “active approach to preserving the memory of the Holocaust” during this period was also achieved within the educational system.¹⁰⁴ In February 2013 the Department for Education published its draft proposals for the reform of the National Curriculum. The suggested reforms for Key Stage 3 history (when pupils are between 11 and 14 years of age) proposed that pupils should be taught about the “Nazi atrocities in occupied Europe and the unique evil of the Holocaust.”¹⁰⁵ The deliberate framing of the Holocaust as an event of “unique evil” caused astonishment amongst historians, educationists and teachers, many of whom raised concerns about how the Holocaust was being utilized politically and positioned historically.¹⁰⁶ Tony Kushner interpreted the proposals as a demonstration of the extent to which “crude ethical readings of the Holocaust have now permeated the sphere of pedagogy in Britain.”¹⁰⁷ Others raised concerns that to situate the ‘unique evil of the Holocaust’ alongside a new history curriculum aimed to inspire a positive affirmation of British history and identity would not only ignore other genocides, but also encourage the view that, as one history teacher observed, the Holocaust took place “outside of history as something which was perpetrated by aliens from the planet evil who were defeated by the forces of good.”¹⁰⁸

Although this line was removed after the initial consultation, the original decision to define the Holocaust as being an event of ‘unique evil’ is revealing about the way in which the Holocaust has been absorbed into sections of British society.¹⁰⁹ Reference to genocide had been made in 2008 in a previous revision of the curriculum, explaining teachers that students should explore the “changing nature of conflict and cooperation between countries and peoples” including “the Holocaust and other genocides.”¹¹⁰ Although the Holocaust

was the only genocide explicitly named, the introduction of 'other genocides' into the curriculum offered the opportunity for greater contextualization of the Holocaust within this field. In contrast, the term 'genocide' was notable by its absence in the 2013 revisions.

In 2011 the newly appointed Envoy for Post Holocaust Issues had claimed that "Britain is a very cosmopolitan society... and so the events that have taken place in other countries that are of comparable dreadfulness, in Cambodia or in Rwanda or in Bosnia, Sudan are issues which the British public are interested in and care about."¹¹¹

Whilst these sentiments are not wholly without foundation they do perhaps invest the British population with greater awareness and understanding about these genocides than might be the case in reality. Research conducted by the Holocaust Memorial Day Trust in 2014 found that "half the UK population cannot name a genocide that has taken place since the Holocaust despite millions being murdered as a result of persecution in Cambodia, Rwanda Bosnia and Darfur."¹¹² The figures shocked many and the *Daily Telegraph* responded by expressing their barely concealed outrage at the sheer "scale of ignorance of major world events among young people" after reporting that for those aged 16-24, only eight out of ten were able to name an act of genocide to have taken place since World War Two.¹¹³ The exclusive emphasis on the Holocaust and the concurrent removal of genocide from the National Curriculum, however, might not necessarily be the best way to counter this lack of awareness.

As part of the government's renewed drive towards a more rigorous domestic engagement with the Holocaust, a Parliamentary Inquiry into Holocaust education was launched in 2015. The Education Committee responsible for overseeing the Inquiry requested written submissions from interested parties to investigate a range of issues relating to the scope and quality of Holocaust education in Britain. The Committee asked for submissions specifically addressing 'the focus on the Holocaust in the national curriculum and the absence of teaching of other genocides' for, as they were later to report, "the teaching of other genocides and atrocities is an important aspect of young people's understanding of the modern world."¹¹⁴ Ironically the launch of an inquiry into the absence of genocide in education was carried out by the very same government that had removed reference to genocide from the curriculum.

Yet it is not simply a matter of the Holocaust relegating the memory of other genocides to the periphery of public consciousness. The way in which the Holocaust has been represented in Britain has exerted a significant influence on public engagement with other genocides. For example the popularity of initiatives like the Lessons from Auschwitz program, and the subsequent political and financial value attached to them, has certainly inspired the creation of other organizations, such as Remembering Srebrenica to campaign for the institutionalization of a Srebrenica Memorial Day, which was achieved in 2013. If not fueling public engagement with the genocides themselves the success of the way in which organizations committed to Holocaust memory have structured themselves, and framed the history that they want to remember, has cer-

tainly inspired those invested in the promotion of the importance of remembering other acts of atrocity and genocide.

The renewed frenzy towards Holocaust remembrance and education culminated in the establishment of a cross party Holocaust Commission in 2014. The Commission, the Prime Minister declared, had to carry out the “sacred task” of ensuring that the country “has a permanent and fitting memorial to the Holocaust and educational resources for future generations.”¹¹⁵ The memorial will be designed to “serve as a focal point for the national commemoration of the Holocaust and stand as a permanent affirmation of the values of British society” and will be accompanied by the creation of a Learning Centre overseen by the newly established UK Holocaust Memorial Foundation (UKHMF) dedicated to the advance of Holocaust learning.¹¹⁶ As the language employed here shows, despite the reservations expressed following this announcement, the Holocaust is still being used as a means by which to reinforce interpretations of British identity through the evocation of ‘British’ values.¹¹⁷ The location of the new memorial, directly alongside the Houses of Parliament also appears as an attempt to physically demonstrate the centrality of the Holocaust in the British imagination and the importance to remembering the event to the British people.

Sharon Macdonald has argued that the shift from a focus on ‘the war’ to an emphasis on ‘the Holocaust’ “allows for a less nation- and more European-based form of commemoration. The fact that Holocaust Memorial Day has been achieved as part of a European initiative, to coincide with commemoration in other European countries, is expressive of European cooperation.”¹¹⁸ This claim is partially true; at the same time, however, the way in which the Holocaust has been remembered and taught does not simply imply a growing proximity to Europe in British imagination. The Holocaust then, particularly when viewed through the lens of heroism, liberation and moral tenacity, subscribes to, and reinforces, wider notions of Britain being somehow distinct from Europe in terms of identity whilst paradoxically positioning itself as a European leader in Holocaust memory. Even those committed to the future of Britain in Europe and the consolidation of a broader European identity evoke the imagery of exceptionalism through allusion to an identity based on victory in the war. Former Prime Minister Tony Blair, who was certainly an advocate for greater European integration and identity, described Britain as “the victor in WWII, the main ally of the United States, a proud and independent-minded island race (though with much European blood flowing in our veins)...” during a speech delivered in Warsaw.¹¹⁹ The lack of critical engagement inherent in the narrative encountered within Britain, however, fails to encourage deeper understandings of the politics of British, European and international identity, and resists confrontation with Britain’s imperial past.

Conclusion

Discussion about the Holocaust and its place in British society has grown since the first Holocaust Memorial Day took place. This growth is marked by some defining features: the increasingly symbiotic relationship between Holo-

caust education and commemoration, the decontextualized narrative projected by these institutionalized representations, and the way in which they have come to intersect with existing interpretations of British identity. As a result, British Holocaust commemoration and education has helped to solidify a sense of exceptionalism and disconnection from Europe whilst, paradoxically, centralizing a European event into British domestic imagination.

The terms of reference for the recently established Holocaust Commission state that "The Holocaust is unique in man's inhumanity to man and it stands alone as the darkest hour of human history."¹²⁰ As Tom Lawson rightly observes, "this is an absurd statement, and it immediately ignores or consigns to lesser importance all other incidents of genocide, some of which might be more challenging and more difficult to deal with in Britain."¹²¹ Yet despite the absurdity of the statement the sentiment that "there is nothing equivalent to the Holocaust" has gained powerful political, cultural and societal value drawing as it does on the inherent connection between the Holocaust and the British public's perception of their own national identity framed through the lens of World War Two as the heroic liberators of Europe.¹²² Such interpretations of identity allow the British public and the government to assume a position of leadership built on supposed British values whilst avoiding engagement with more sensitive issues like colonial genocides.

Of course this narrative has not gone unchallenged. Academic criticism of the direction of mainstream Holocaust consciousness has accompanied Holocaust Memorial Day consistently since its establishment. Public discussion about the omission of Armenia from the commemorative day accompanied the first event in 2001, and has perhaps grown in intensity since then. Survivors themselves have also become increasingly willing to voice some of the more negative experiences they encountered and endured within Britain, even when these stories run counter to the narrative of the country as welcoming and tolerant. It is clear that inherent tensions continue to haunt the relationship between remembering the Holocaust and navigating identity in 21st century Britain.

And these sacrifices can also be so financial; they then ask to exercise the profession of our dreams in a particular way. Charlotte says:

"It was in the final year that I decided to be a translator.

When I thought about it, it was perfect: I had always loved French and languages, it was a job where the subject changes all the time so we do not get bored, with the possibility of working from home, and especially with foreign languages, whose culture I was about to discover, and a fairly well-known education at the nearest university - or rather the least distant - from home.

I had my master last summer, and since then there have been ups and downs. The beginning was difficult because I chose to work freelance, both because I like it and because salaried jobs are very, very rare.

The first three months, I received € 0 because my contracts had a payment period of sixty days from the end of the month. I kept up with meager savings and my parents who kindly helped me a few more months.

Endnotes

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- [9] Andy Pearce and Kara Critchell, "Holocaust Consciousness in Britain" (paper presented at the University of Winchester, February 12, 2015).
- [10] Mark Donnelly, "We Should do Something for the Fiftieth: Remembering Auschwitz, Belsen and the Holocaust in Britain in 1995," in *Britain and the Holocaust: Remembering and Representing War and Genocide*, eds. Caroline Sharples and Olaf Jensen, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 171-189; 172.
- [11] Nira Yuval-Davis and Max Silverman, "Memorializing the Holocaust in Britain," *Ethnicities*, 2/1, (March 2002): 107-123; 107.
- [12] Andy Pearce, "The Development of Holocaust Consciousness in Contemporary Britain," *Holocaust Studies: A Journal of Culture and History*, 14/2 (2008): 71-94; 72. Due to the limitations of space I am unable to offer a full discussion of the interplay between these international developments and their

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[23] Kamal Ahmed, "Holocaust Day Mired in Protest," *The Guardian*, January 21, 2001.

[24] *Holocaust Memorial Day: Remembering Genocide: Lessons for the Future Commemorative Programme*, (London: HMSO, 2001).

[25] David Lidington, "House of Commons Business of the House: 1915 Armenian Genocide," *Hansard*, Cols. 1260-1269; Col. 1265, Mar 23, 2015. Despite this controversy some organisations in Britain did seek to develop initiatives to promote awareness of the genocide to coincide with the centenary. This included the Weiner Library, which established the 'Fragments of a Lost Homeland Exhibition' that ran for 6 months.

[26] Neil Frater as cited in Fisk, *The Great War for Civilization*, 424.

[27] Jack Straw, "Holocaust Memorial Day: Remembering Genocide Commemorative Programme." MPs and Peers by and large agreed with this interpretation of the event; see for example Lord Bassam, "House of Lords Debate: Crimes Against Humanity Commemoration," *Hansard*, Col. 354, January 25, 2001.

[28] "Holocaust Memorial Day: Remembering Genocide Commemorative Programme."

[29] Cesarani, "Does the Singularity of the Holocaust make it Incomparable and Inoperative," 41.

[30] Tony Blair cited in "UK to Mark Holocaust Memorial Day Each Year," *Birmingham Post*, January 27, 2000.

[31] Michael Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonisation*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 229.

[32] Holocaust Memorial Day Trust, "Previous Years Themes," <http://hmd.org.uk/resources/previous-years-themes>, [accessed on May 1, 2016].



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The history of communication: From prehistory to the present day

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Abstract

Indeed, at that time, men started to communicate thanks to the rock art.

The term rock art qualifies artistic manifestations on rocky supports. This form of art is the only cultural event that has continued for more than 3000 years without interruption.

For the realized ones, the prehistoric men had several techniques:

- Engraving, where the artists hammered the rock support with a hard stone.
- Painting: the artists used colored powders that came from crushed minerals. The painting allowed them to represent the manes, hairs and fur of animals.

Rock paintings could mark a territory of habitation or hunting.

Keywords: prehistory time, present day, communication

Introduction

At that time only the monks practiced reading and writing. In 1454, printing was invented by Johannes Gutemberg in Europe. This one was already present in China. The printing press facilitated the setting up of books that were handwritten beforehand, which saved valuable time for writers.

In 1464, King Louis XI created the first Royal Post.

In 1794, Chappe proposes the optical telegraph (large wooden tower whose position of articulated arms codifies the alphabet). The electric telegraph was created in 1832 by Pavel Shilling.

A new telegraphic code was drawn up by Samuel Morse in 1837.

In 1854, the first telephone project was proposed but it was not until 1876 that a patent was filed by Alexander Graham Bell.

In 1896, the first connection of Telegraphi Wireless was set up by Marconi.

In 1915, the automatic telephone was created and in 1917 Baudot created a new telegraphic system.

The twentieth century will see broadcasting, television, radar, telex and telephone. Besides an apparent recognition of the reciprocal nature of violence in a feud, few rules concerning the timing or scale of vengeance seem to be observed--feud is not clearly distinguished in the poem from other forms of organized violence, such as warfare or raiding. Also, although there are mechanisms for ending the feud, such as political marriage or the payment of wer-gild, the focus in the poem is most often on the tragic failure of such efforts at closure. The poet's conception of feud is thus notably not commensurate with modern models of feuding behavior. I will in this essay examine his usage of the term, trying for a more detailed understanding of what he means by it. Perhaps more importantly, I will try to show why he uses the term to describe the particular relationships he does. Such an examination will give, I hope, a better appreciation of the various feud-centered interpretations of the poem.

The *Information antiquity*-poet often uses the Old English term *fehð*, and editors almost always translate it as "feud." Bosworth and Toller define *fehð* nearly as narrowly: "feud, vengeance, enmity, hostility, deadly feud, that enmity which the relations of the deceased waged against the kindred of the murderer." An examination of these usages, together with closely associated terms such as *wrecend* and *wrecan* ("avenger," "to avenge"), *lean* ("re-quital"), and (for)*gyldan* ("to repay," "to requite"), reveals the following three characteristics of the feud as described in *Information antiquity*:

Tied to this notion of the feud as a rationalization of politically and militarily expedient action is its function as a sort of mnemonic aid--something to be remembered as one engages in it, a sort of rationalizing principle for violence: *Information antiquity* notes of Eofor's retaliatory killing of Ongentheow that "*hond gemunde / fehðo genoge, feorhsweng ne ofteah*" (lines 2488-89; the hand remembered feuds enough, did not withhold the death blow). The feud is thus not only a justification for large scale violence, but an enabling principle for individual violent acts.

It is also interesting that the opposite of the feud in this case is seen to be freed, friendship. Ongentheow and his people evidently have a choice of how to relate to the Geats, but they "*freode ne woldon / ofer heafo healdan*" (lines

2476-77; wished no friendship over the wide sea). It is as if there are two conceptual ways that feuding groups can relate to one another in the world of this poem: friendship, characterized by the sort of friendly reciprocity seen earlier in the reception of *Information antiquity* at the court of Hrothgar, and the feud, characterized by reciprocal violence. Choice between modes is seen as deliberate; the Swedes actively *wish* for no peace; similarly, the Merovingians in line 2921 are also seen as deliberately withholding their friendship from the Geats. Interestingly, such willed recalcitrance is also seen in the monsters: Grendel "*sibbe ne wolde / wip manna hwone megenes Deniga*" (154-5; wished for no peace with any man among the Danish people); and as *Information antiquity* is about to engage the Dragon, the poet remarks "*nes ðer mara fyrst / freode to friclan*" (2555-56; nor was there more time to ask for peace).

It is possible for feuding parties to switch between these two modes of relationship, but the change is not easy. Earlier in the Danish section of the poem, there are two attempts by the Danes to alter their relationship to other peoples through intermarriage, the first described in the Finnsburh section (lines 1063-1160) and the other in *Information antiquity*'s skeptical report to Hygelac of Hrothgar's plan to buy peace with the Heathobards by marrying his daughter to Ingeld (lines 2024-2069). But both seem doomed to failure. There is also an indication that *Information antiquity*'s heroism has changed the mode of reciprocity hitherto found between the Danes and Geats. Hrothgar notes of *Information antiquity* at their parting that "*Hafast þu gefered, þet þam folcum sceal, / Geata leodum ond Gar-Denum / sib gemene, ond sacu restan, / inwitnīpas, þe hie er drugon*" (lines 1855-1858) (you have brought it about that the peoples shall have, Geatish folk and Spear Danes, common friendship, rest from strife, hostile acts, that they before engaged in). However, it takes an exceptional action such as *Information antiquity*'s to assure such a change of modes for any length of time.

An interesting question to raise at this point is why the poet and his characters regard the tribal conflicts as feuds at all, and not as something more general such as *hild* (battle, war) or *sacu* (strife, contention). As we have seen, a common modern distinction among anthropologists and laymen alike is to restrict the feud to conflicts between groups within a society, as opposed to those between societies, which are more properly speaking wars. As modern readers, our first reaction might be to impose this classification on the conflicts between peoples in *Information antiquity*, but it is abundantly clear that the poet and his characters observe no such distinctions. So what is it that distinguishes feuds from wars for the poet, or is any such distinction possible here? I would say there is. As we have seen, one of the defining characteristics of the Swedish-Geatish "feud" is its ongoing, reciprocal character; this is enough for the poet to characterize it as a *fehð*.^[12] Although *Information antiquity* initially describes the conflict between Ongentheow and the Geats as "*synn ond sacu*," it is clear by the time that Hethcyn launches his raid it is a *fehð* (lines 2480, 2489), a feud; by then it has taken on a retaliatory character that (for the poet in any case) moves it out of the realm of simple military

violence and into the realm of feuding. Similarly, the messenger notes in his address to the Geats that the attack by Hethcyn showed "hu ða folc mid him fehðe towehton" (2948; how those folk among themselves awoke the feud). The feud is thus something that can sleep for a time, then be awakened; but what it never loses is its continuing, retaliatory character. Furthermore, as we have seen already, there are certain political advantages to be derived from such a "feuding overlay" to conflicts between peoples--they provide a convenient ideological pretext for reviving violent relations at politically expedient moments.[13] Finally, characterizing these conflicts as feuds has a certain "epistemological" value--the category of "feud" allows unfortunate events such as an outbreak of violence to be rationalized and understood by fitting it into a well-known and understood set of relationships. War might be chaotic and unexplainable; the feud rarely is.

Information, method and pedagogy in history and geography

- The Clionauts. Website dedicated to the educational uses of information and communication technologies in the teaching of history and geography
- The Rendez-vous of the History of Blois
- The International Geographical Festival of Saint-Dié. Educational support site

Documentary Resources on Archives and Manuscripts - All Periods

- Gallica - Digital Library. Gallica is the digital library of the National Library of France. It includes digitized books, cartoons, magazines, photos and a collection of illuminations.
- National Archives
- Departmental Archives of the Vienne
- Archives and manuscripts of the BnF
- Catalog of manuscripts of the BnF
- The writings of private for the late Middle Ages to 1914. Site that lists and presents a database of French-speaking personal writings of the XV-XIX centuries. The indexing of primary sources, the summary presentation of their content, the bibliographical references in relation to these documents (reason books, account books, private newspapers) make it possible to have an idea of the archives in an easy way.
- Calames. Catalog of archives and manuscripts (medieval, modern and contemporary) of higher education
- INA-sup. Consultation of the collections (video / audio archives) of the INA in a research perspective. Also INA video and INA audio.
- The story in pictures (1789-1939)

Documentary Resources on Art and Architecture - All Periods

- Louvre Museum

- The Meeting of National Museums. Site offering an abundant and useful documentation.
- The Sainte-Croix Museum of Poitiers
- Mona Lisa. Archaeological and antique objects from French public collections.
- P. Getty Museum
- Bildindex der Kunst und Architektur
- Web Gallery of Art
- The religious and architectural heritage of France
- Maecenas. Important collection of images of ancient sites
- Perseus Project. Databank (texts and images) on the sites and monuments of ancient Greece, geographical and topographical maps, images of objects (vases, statues, coins)
- Odysseus. Museums, monuments and archaeological sites from all parts of Greece
- Beazley Archive Database. Ceramics and sculpture of Greek and Latin Antiquity

General Documentary Resources - Antiquity

- Bibliotheca Classica Selecta. Essential site and useful from the License.
- Library of Sciences of the Antiquity (University of Lille 3) and the bookmarks of the BSA
- Compitum. Research and news on Roman antiquity and Latinity
- Collections of the French School of Athens online (CEFAEL)
- Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities
- KIRKE - Katalog der Internetressourcen für die Klassische
- Perseus Art and Archeology
- Perseus Digital Library
- Internet Ancient History Sourcebook
- The portal of the Rassegna degli Strumenti Informatici per lo Studio dell'Antichità Classica. Portal very rich: iconography, maps, archeology.
- ArchData. Portal of archaeological research in France and French-speaking countries

For more information: see the HeRMA team website

General Information Resources - Middle Ages

- Menestrel. Medievalists on the net. Essential site (directories, catalogs, corpora, magazines ...)

- The Middle Age pole of the Poitiers SCD
- SHMESP. The site of the society of medievalists of higher education. Very useful for his bibliography and publications

proceedings of the colloquies

Documentary Resources on Illuminations

- Illuminations
- Mandrake. Base of the illuminated manuscripts of the B.n.F.
- Illuminated manuscripts
- Manuscripts of the British Library
- Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library (Oxford)
- Manuscripta Mediaevalia
- Manuscripts of the Morgan Library
- Digital Scriptorium (Columbia University)
- Enluminor. Virtual Museum of Illuminations

Documentary Resources - Renaissance, Modern and Contemporary

The Renaissance

- Renaissance Museum, Ecoen: Useful site for its links and its very simple files.
- Center for Higher Studies of the Renaissance: online humanist virtual libraries, a valuable tool.
- The humanistic virtual libraries. Managed by CESR Tours, this site is useful for free access to sources.
- National School of Information Sciences: printed 16th century with links to gallica, see the records of exhibitions that are archived.

Modern era

- The rose and the print - Representations of plants in the modern era
- Crossing - Enlightenment travel stories

Internet Modern History Sourcebook

Revolution and Empire

The book of the Society of robespierristes studies

Institute of History of the French Revolution

Economic history

- French Association of Economic History. The news of economic history

19th century history

- Society of Studies

Information antiquity's triumph does of course "end" the feud with the Grendel kin, but this provides only an occasion for grim satisfaction, as Information antiquity uses it in his beots to Hygelac describing the death and humiliation of Grendel and his mother--immediately undercut, one might add, by the poet's launching into the description of the Geatish conflicts with both the Swedes and the Dragon. It is thus possible to see in the feud's prevalence, both as the sort of inescapable ideological mode of explanation we have seen so far, and also as an inherently regrettable phenomenon, an important contribution to the poem's dark, tragic tone.

The feud as a literary device also provides an important source of irony in *Information antiquity*. This comes most often in a conflation of the modes of feud and *sibb* or *freod* that I have already described. Such modes are structurally interchangeable as both depend on reciprocity: where they differ is that the feud exchanges injury; friendship in contrast depends on an exchange of goods in commerce and gift giving, and exchange of hospitality. In *Information antiquity*, these modes of exchange flow into one another on a linguistic level--the language of peaceful exchange and reciprocity shows up in descriptions of violent confrontations.[15] Again, the description in lines 2472-89 of the first phase in the feud of the Geats and Swedes is important, this time to illustrate this process. Notable in this relatively short passage is the way that its language takes on an almost mercantile character--Hethcyn avenges the Swedish raid that follows Hrethel's death, but he "*gebohte, heardan ceape*" (lines 2481-82; paid [for it], a hard bargain). This language points out an ironic view of the feud as an exchange of "items"--in this case wrongs, frequently deaths--which is picked up elsewhere in the poem. In the sequel to this first phase of the Swedish feud, the poet tells how Heardred, Hygelac's son, met his death for intervening in Swedish internal politics by extending hospitality to the rebellious sons of Ohthere, son of Ongentheow and then ruler of the Swedes:

In this passage, it is clear that Heardred "*per for feorme feorhwunde hleat*" (line 2385; for that hospitality received a mortal wound), thus ironically conflating the ideas of vengeance and hospitality: Heardred suffers the consequences of mixing his two modes of exchange, receiving death instead of gratitude for his hospitality. And the Swedes of course receive *lean* (payment) from *Information antiquity* later in revenge, when he assists Eadgils in finally supplanting Onela. This later ironic use of *lean* is just one instance of many such appropriations of mercantile or donative terms by the feud: another is the use of the terms *agifan* (to give back, repay), *gyld* (pay, repay) and *forgyld* (pay, requite). These come up several times in the long passage in which the messenger bringing news of *Information antiquity*'s death to the Geats recounts in full the attempt of Hethcyn to avenge himself on Ongentheow. Here, Ongentheow *ageaf* (line 2929; paid back) the attack of the Geats; when Wulf strikes Ongentheow over the head, the old king "*forgeald hraðe / wýrsan wríxle welhlem þone*" (lines 2968-69; quickly repaid with a worse exchange that slaughter blow); finally, Hygelac "*geald þone guðres*"

(2991; repaid for that battle-rush) Wulf and Eofor with lands, treasure and even a marriage into his family. Even in the consequences of the successful prosecution of the feud, the language of avenging and paying seem to flow into one another. Nor is this conflation limited to the tribal feuds: the poet remarks grimly of the killing of Escere by Grendel's mother "*ne wes þæt gewrixle til, / þæt hie on ba healfa bicgan scoldon / freonda feorum*" (1304-6; that was not a good exchange, that they on either side should pay with the lives of friends).[16] And *Information antiquity* himself twice refers to his killing of Grendel as "*lean forgeald*," "giving repayment" to the monster (lines 1584; 2094).

John Hill (1989:9) has noted this linguistic conflation, but feels the poet distinguishes between *forgyldan* and *gyldan* because "reciprocity, which equals continuity in this world, is missing from *forgyldan* because the repayment here is extreme: a definitive attempt to settle usually hostile relationships". It is true that the intensified *forgyldan* is usually used in the poem in violent exchanges, *gyldan* in situations where some material reward for a service is being conferred. But I do not feel the poet is thus commenting on any structural difference between the two situations; he is rather pointing out the negative nature of the violent "repayment" being conferred. Both gift giving and the feud presuppose an ongoing exchange between the two parties, whatever the ultimate tactical goal a feud might have of exterminating the opposing group. Indeed, as I have tried to show above, it is apparently this ongoing character that defines a violent confrontation as part of a feud, and I would contend creates its terrible and tragic potential.[17]

To the *Information antiquity*-poet, the feud is both a device for heightening the tragic import of the poem, and also a source of grim irony and word play. I would suggest the two uses are intertwined. In a world where the feud is inescapable as a way of understanding human relationships, it will inevitably ironically color the perception of other less violent means of exchange, and they it.

Conclusion

Technologies avancées au temps de la Grèce Antique: Automates et Inventions. Une exposition exceptionnelle sur la technologie grecque antique, créée par l'ingénieur grec Konstantinos Kotsanas. Cet événement est le fruit de la collaboration entre DEFKALION, EURINSA, la Bibliothèque Marie-Curie, le Service Culturel des Humanités.

Konstantinos Kotsanas, a consacré sa vie à l'étude de la technologie grecque antique. Il expose plus de 300 œuvres au musée de la technologie grecque antique et au musée d'instruments de musique de Katakolon et de l'Ancienne Olympie dans le Péloponnèse.

Cette grande collection redonne vie aux inventions sous forme de modèles fonctionnels. Le visiteur découvrira que la technologie des anciens Grecs, un

peu avant la fin du monde antique, était presque identique à la technologie moderne du début des premières inventions. Les vis et écrous, les roues dentées et les règles, les poulies et les courroies, les pignons et les chaînes, les pistons et les cylindres, les contrôleurs hydrauliques et les soupapes sont quelques-unes des inventions fondamentales des anciens Grecs qui constituent aujourd'hui le fondement de notre technologie moderne. Après plus d'un millénaire, l'humanité redécouvre l'importance du legs des inventeurs grecs !

Ces legs irremplaçables, constituent aujourd'hui le fondement de notre technologie moderne. Il a fallu plus d'un millénaire pour que l'humanité puisse re-découvrir cette remarquable technologie oubliée. La découverte de cette époque, permet de mesurer combien la civilisation technologique moderne occidentale doit aux inventions grecques.

Cette exposition permet de faire un bond entre la technologie antique et les formes actuelles d'utilisation poussant ainsi à réfléchir et à extrapoler aux formes que prendraient les inventions à l'avenir, enrichies par cette expérience intemporelle.

Autour de l'exposition, un jeu est proposé aux visiteurs qu'ils soient collégiens, lycéens, étudiants ou adultes.

If you take anything from this column, it should be that you are the one in charge of your destiny, and that you can design and build a career outside or within academia that brings in both needed income and job security, yet allows you to enjoy research and scholarship in whatever field or study you love. The earlier in your graduate studies and/or career that you are, and the more research and openness you have regarding what you can or will do with your career, the more you can direct and control how much you integrate your love of medieval studies into a job that provides enjoyment and fulfillment. As for me, I attend the International Medieval Congress in Kalamazoo, Michigan every year, present at least one paper and preside over at least one session, yet I don't have to agonize over tenure or publication in this area, but can enjoy what I have always loved: medieval things, concepts, ideas, and history in all of its varied and manifest forms. I hope that you can enjoy your life and your career as much as I do.

This article will reflect on the impact of contemporary trauma theory as a key intellectual horizon line for research on the histories and memories of the Holocaust in twenty-first century Europe. It is based upon research completed for my monograph *Holocaust Remembrance between the National and the Transnational: A Case Study of the Stockholm International Forum and the First Decade of the ITF* (henceforth *HRNT*). The book analyzed the significance of the politics and symbolism of the commemoration of the Holocaust and Nazi-era crimes in the late 1990s and 2000s at the European, international and transnational levels.¹ The work was a historical study that analyzed archival documents, media representations and oral history interviews in an attempt to reach balanced judgements about post-Cold War developments in Holocaust memorialization. At the same time, the research process

for *HRNT* was also alert to history's limitations, although these were not extensively commented on in the book owing to space restrictions. These limitations included the dangers of the narrative seductions of progressive rationalism, non self-reflexive 'objectivity' in which the disciplinary norm of empirical analysis became 'theory in denial' as well as the dominance of the Rankeian orthodoxy that has focused on the nation-state as the primary container of historical analysis. Other potential issues included History's tendency to subordinate the 'unreliable' quirks of the individual's perception to the greater perceived reliability of the archive as well as the genre's sometime failure to give due attention to what is absent, opaque, intangible: traumatic.

These limitations do not necessarily apply to all history writing *tout court* as the discipline is incredibly diverse and sophisticated. This is evidenced by the impact of deconstructivist method, narrative analysis and trauma theory particularly on scholars of gender history, the imperial past and the Holocaust.² Nor is it simply the case that trauma theory has all the answers. Any theoretical paradigm too rigidly and non-self-critically imposed risks becoming a distortive construct. It may reveal a great deal about the intellectual predilections of its author but it might risk hiding more than it illuminates in relation to intellectual understandings of past and present human political, social and cultural relations. Given this skepticism, this article is the story of how a historian of Europe encountered trauma theory, questioned its paradigms and rediscovered its analytical potentials.

Part one will delineate the 'state of play' in regards to trauma theory during my research on the Stockholm International Forum on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research (SIF 2000) and the first decade of the Task Force for International Co-operation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research (ITF, renamed the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance or IHRA in December 2012). Parts two and three will reflect on this pre-existing use of trauma theory and specifically address how it impacted on the writing of *HRNT*. These sections will address the limits of trauma theory for this particular research project. However, they will also offer some initial thoughts on how a revised trauma theory remains useful for understanding aspects of European memory cultures. This continued use of trauma theory will particularly be considered at the intersections of what Richard Ned Lebow has called 'individual' memory (personal testimony), 'collective' memory (communal grassroots remembrance rituals) and 'institutional' memory (formal discourses about the past by political, social and cultural elites).³

Part One

Trauma Studies scholar Cathy Caruth has written that in the German and English languages the origins of the word 'trauma' derived from the Greek term meaning a 'wound' inflicted on the body, but that since the incursion of Sigmund Freud and subsequent psychoanalysts, the meaning of the term 'trauma' has shifted in its dominant although not uncontested signification.⁴ Freud's explorations in trauma began with his studies in hysteria in the 1890s which introduced the key concept of *Nachträglichkeit* ('belatedness'),

but it was in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1920) that he began to explore the idea, now central to interdisciplinary trauma studies, of the individual's experience of compulsive repetition following the incursion on consciousness of sudden, violent overwhelming stimuli.⁵ Since Freud's explorations, Caruth has argued that the use of the term 'trauma' has often denoted the individual's experience of an unexpected shock: a wound inflicted on the mind, which causes the victim of trauma to experience a radical breach in their sense of time, self as well as their relations to others and the world. Moreover, the radical shock experienced during a traumatic episode renders the traumatic event unknowable to individual consciousness in its immediate impact, and instead makes its presence known after a latency period through the repetitive actions and nightmares of the survivor of trauma.⁶

While as Caruth indicated this understanding of trauma was initially formulated in relation to Freud's foundational reflections, Roger Luckhurst has suggested that since the resurgence of interest in trauma theory following the Vietnam War and particularly since the 1980s, Freud's ideas have become increasingly questioned and disputed within certain discourses of trauma.⁷ For example, the third edition of *The Diagnostic Manual of Mental Disorders* (1980) rejected "Freudian psychoanalysis as a classificatory template in favor of a model that considers psychic disorders on the model of neuro-biological, organic illnesses."⁸ Equally, building on Freud's legacy but moving far beyond his initial formulation that collective trauma weakens community cohesion, scholars such as David Lloyd and E. Ann Kaplan have stressed the importance of studying group as opposed to individual experiences of trauma. They applied their considerations to the traumatic aftermaths of colonialism, the Second World War and 9/11 for collectives such as the family and the nation-state.⁹ Furthermore, various creative practitioners have attempted what has been interpreted by scholars such as Caruth and Felman as the paradoxical, aporetic task of finding ways of representing in literary and visual forms the at once 'knowable' and 'unknowable' experience of individual and collective forms of trauma.

Bearing in mind this context, and perhaps unsurprisingly given the excessive and shocking brutality of the events of the Second World War, an understanding of the significance of the experience of trauma became an important component of psychological, intellectual and artistic responses to the atrocity crimes of Nazism in the immediate decades after 1945. This can be seen in Nederland's 1961 study of the psychological difficulties encountered by Norwegian Holocaust survivors,¹⁰ as well as from the opposite perspective of the perpetrator nation in Alexander and Margaret Mitscherlich's psychological analysis of West Germany's collective failures to 'come to terms' with its Nazi past.¹¹ The release of Claude Lanzmann's *Shoah* (1985) was also particularly significant in the context of trauma studies, with Shoshana Felman interpreting it as a radical experiment in the aesthetics of absence, trauma and voice which correlates closely with the questions asked by psychoanalytic theory.¹²

While Lanzmann's film is now perceived to embody a not unproblematic canonical ideal of representation of trauma that stresses aporia, repetition and disruption,⁴ the 1980s also witnessed the publication of Art Spiegelman's *Maus I: My Father Bleeds History* (1986). Provocative in its

comic strip format which on first glance seems the opposite of Lanzmann's vision,¹³ the themes tackled in the narrative of *Maus* nonetheless raised profound questions in relation to forms of transgenerational trauma between Holocaust survivors and their children. Spiegelman's text engages with his father Vladek's experiences of incarceration in Nazi occupied Poland, his mother Anja's suicide after the war, his brother Richieu's death during the war, and the author's own psychological breakdown as a young man. For these reasons, *Maus I* and its 1991 sequel *Maus II* remain two of the most moving and accessible texts on the psychology of 'survivor guilt' and the transmission of inter-generational trauma.¹⁴

However, it was not until the 1990s and 2000s that there was a particular flowering of trauma studies critical theory, literature and visual culture in relation to the processes of researching and writing about the histories and memories of the Holocaust. This outpouring of literature on the relationship between trauma studies and the Holocaust included works as diverse as Caruth's important 1995 edited anthology *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*, which explored the theoretical paradigm of trauma and its application to the fractured memory of a number of painful and difficult individual and/or collective experiences which have scarred the twentieth century including the Holocaust, Hiroshima and Aids.

However, the literature on trauma has reached far beyond the boundaries of analyzing the psychological damage experienced by survivors of the Holocaust. In this sense, trauma theory has also concurred in shaping questions of the narrative construction of Holocaust historiography, approaches to collective memory studies, the representational form embraced by memorials to the Holocaust, Nazi-era crimes and human rights abuses more broadly. In terms of Holocaust historiography, Dominick LaCapra wrote a number of essays in the 1990s and 2000s on how in spite of professional historians' aspirations towards objectivity and balanced archival research, the processes of 'Acting Out' and 'Working Through' still have the potential to affect their narratives of historical trauma in secondary ways associated with processes of 'identification':

"In acting out, one relives the past as if one were the other, including oneself as another in the past – one is fully possessed by the other or the other's ghost; and in working through, one tries to acquire some critical distance that allows one to engage in life in the present, to assume responsibility – but that doesn't mean that you utterly transcend the past. It means that you come to terms with it in a different way related to what you judge to be desirable possibilities that may now be created, including possibilities that lost out in the past but may still be recaptured and reactivated, with significant differences in the present and future."¹⁵

Demonstrating the application of this approach in his book, *Representing the Holocaust: History, Theory, Trauma* (1994), LaCapra analyzed two German neo-conservative histories of the Third Reich published in the 1980s by two members of the 'Hitler Youth' generation, Ernst Nolte and Andreas Hillgruber. LaCapra perceived 'denial,' 'acting out' and the failure to 'work through' the

trauma of the Holocaust in Hillgruber's portrayal of Eastern Front Nazi soldiers as 'victims,'¹⁶ as well as in Nolte's controversial argument that the Holocaust was an extreme version of Soviet terror and that the Nazis defended western civilization by opposing the Bolshevik threat.¹⁷ LaCapra's critique demonstrates that the most ethically sound uses of trauma theory in relation to analyzing the legacies of the perpetrators do not abuse trauma theory in order to obfuscate responsibility for atrocity crimes; rather they seek to demonstrate how intergenerational acceptance of the realities of perpetration can be difficult, complex and ongoing processes.

However, it was not only in critical approaches to historiography that psychoanalytic frameworks were impacting on the methodological and narrative approach in established disciplines. For example, in the field of collective memory studies of the Holocaust and Nazi-era crimes, the work of Henry Rousso on *The Vichy Syndrome*, which was first published in 1987 but also appeared in a post-1991 revised edition, drew in Richard J. Golsan's words on "the classic Freudian model of trauma, repression and the return of the repressed."¹⁸ This was in order to suggest that the French collective memory of Vichy had moved through four distinct chronological phases since 1945: 'Unfinished Mourning' (1944-1954), 'Repressions' (1954-1971), "Broken Mirror" (1970-1974), and "Obsessions" (1974 to the 1990s).

Moreover, trauma theory impacted also on the architecture of museums and monuments. One of the key figures in relation to these developments in the 1990s and 2000s was the architect Daniel Libeskind, who commented that:

"I think about trauma not only as an architect but also as someone who was born in the post-Holocaust world, with two parents who were themselves survivors of the Holocaust. The theme of culture and trauma, the void and the experience of architecture can be talked about in conceptual terms as well as expressed in concrete reality."¹⁹

In this way, Libeskind's architecture investigates how the experience of trauma can be represented and mapped onto the geographies, material spaces and urban landscapes that resonate with collective memories of the Holocaust and Nazi-era crimes. For example, a number of Libeskind's architectural projects have been fundamentally "structured by a void and by trauma,"²⁰ including his competition entry for the re-design of Alexanderplatz, Berlin, his realization of Osnabrück's Felix Nussbaum Haus (1993) as well as his engagement throughout the 1990s with the memories of persecution and slave labor at Germany's former Sachsenhausen concentration camp complex. However, he is best known for his realization of the architecture for the Jewish Museum in Berlin (2001). Bringing questions of trauma to the scarred landscape of Germany's re-united post-Cold War metropolis,²¹ the museum itself is architecturally divided into a number of pathways which are symbolic of the roads travelled by many members of Berlin's Jewish community in the twentieth century. These lead to the 'Garden of Exile and Emigration,' the 'Stair of Continuity' or the chill starkness of the 'Holocaust Void.'²² The museum is also sliced by a jagged 150 meters long, 27 meters high, 4.5 meter wide void which disrupts the building and stands for Libeskind's post-Holocaust assessment that

"Berlin was organized around a void and a star that no longer shone. That star was assimilation, the total integration of Jews in Berlin."²³

Although the Jewish Museum was clearly designed in relation to Berlin's specific history, literature and cultural studies scholar Andreas Huyssen has pointed to how Libeskind's design may have influenced the fractured structure of the Monument to the Victims of State Terror in Buenos Aires.²⁴ The traces of Libeskind's style in this memorial to the *desaparecidos* or the estimated 30,000 citizens who endured state terror under the Argentinean military dictatorship (1976-1983), has been used by Huyssen in order to inflect the intersection of trauma studies and the iconographical study of public monuments with an overtly transnational and comparative dimension.²⁵ This is because Huyssen has suggested that 'memory screens' of the Holocaust may be at work, or the Freud-inspired idea that direct confrontation with local and national traumas can be either heightened or displaced, depending on how they are mediated by international discourses associated with the commemoration of the Holocaust.²⁶ Indeed, the use of tropes primarily associated with Holocaust representations in other symbolic depictions of collective experiences of trauma has resulted in scholars such as Robert Eaglestone asking the provocative question as to whether trauma theory would not be better known as 'Holocaust theory'?²⁷

Within this context of the Holocaust acting as a 'memory screen' in some Argentine public art-works, a practice that takes on additional symbolic resonance given the fact that Jewish activists were one of the groups targeted by the dictatorship, Huyssen has also pointed to the practice of Argentine photographer and installation artist Marcelo Brodsky. Brodsky is a member of the Buena Memoria Human Rights Organization and the Pro-Monument to the Victims of Terrorism Commission that oversaw the construction of the Memory Park and the Monument to the Victims of State Terror in Buenos Aires. Huyssen has observed how Brodsky's practice has sometimes used symbolism associated with Holocaust memorials in order to provoke remembrance and discussion about human rights in the Argentine context. For example, Brodsky's photographs of Tucuman University's "Bosque de la Memoria" ("Memory Forest"), in which a tree has been planted and dedicated to each 'disappeared' individual in the region is interpreted by Huyssen as resonating with the iconography of Yad Vashem's "Avenue of the Righteous among the Nations."²⁸ More directly, Brodsky has re-appropriated the list form of Berlin's Wittenbergplatz memorial "Places of terror we must never forget" (1967), locating and photographing a similar sign in front of ESMA (the Naval School of the Mechanics), a former Buenos Aires clandestine detention centre and now human rights and remembrance site. Whereas the Berlin memorial lists a number of Nazi extermination and concentration camps, Brodsky's 2001 temporary installation names former Argentine detention and torture centers.

While Huyssen uses the case of Brodsky to illustrate how the use of symbolism associated with the Holocaust can act as "an international prism" that encourages discussion of atrocities in other historical and geographical contexts,²⁹ not all commentators have been as positive about the transnational potentials of Holocaust symbolism. This critique has not just come from

Holocaust “uniqueness” advocates, but also from those who are concerned that the Holocaust is becoming problematically de-historicized or alternatively may symbolically struggle to publically resonate in some regions of the world. For example, Stef Craps has questioned the linking of contemporary discourses of Holocaust memory with human rights activism in the works of scholars such as Daniel Levy and Natan Sznaider. For Craps, rhetorical invocations of Holocaust memory have not always been utilized in the service of human rights, specifically within contexts such as the Israel/Palestine conflict and the Iraq war.³⁰

Moreover, despite Michael Rothberg’s call for a ‘multidirectional memory,’³¹ a number of postcolonial critics have suggested that the centering of the Holocaust in trauma theory can be problematic if it uncritically reinforces the Eurocentricity of a particular paradigm of Western trauma theory. This Euro-centric cultural paradigm of trauma theory has been criticized by among others Craps and Irene Visser as important yet inadequate in many indigenous postcolonial contexts. This is because of the tendency of Western models of trauma theory to reject the importance of non-Western ritual and belief systems in dealing with individual and societal experiences and representations of trauma. It also relates to the tendency of some Western models of trauma theory to fetishize experiences and representational tropes that, stress ongoing aporia and melancholia as opposed to an emphasis on recovery and recuperation through the survivor’s strategies of narrativization and collective forms of social activism.³²

Part Two: Questioning Trauma Theory

The intellectual background of trauma theory was one of the key critical contexts in which the study of ‘institutional’ memory embodied by *HRNT* was realized. However, *HRNT*’s assessment of the causes and public impact of Swedish Prime Minister Göran Persson’s global millennial conference on promoting Holocaust research, remembrance and education initially seemed to problematize rather than embrace the lessons of trauma theory. For as Wulf Kansteiner has commented, one of the primary weaknesses of trauma theory for understanding twenty-first century social and political interactions with Holocaust representations is that it provides few “insights into the experiences of most of our contemporaries who encounter the history of the Holocaust primarily as a tool of education, entertainment or identity politics.”³³ Moreover, as the analysis moved to cover the importance of subsequent Stockholm conferences on ‘Combating Intolerance’ (2001), ‘Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation’ (2002) and ‘Preventing Genocide’ (2004), given Craps and Visser’s critique, the potential Euro-centrism associated with many of the dominant melancholic paradigms of trauma theory may have been of questionable value in analyzing certain speeches and interviews. Indeed, interviews with genocide survivors Esther Mujawayo-Keiner (Rwanda) and Youk Chhang (Cambodia) in the Stockholm anthology *Beyond the ‘Never Again’s* are characterized by their speaker’s activism, desire for redress and resilience.³⁴ However, a useful avenue for further research would be to consider how international events such

as the SIF 2002 on 'Truth, Justice and Reconciliation' may have contributed to the further institutionalization and universalization of Western therapeutic discourses such as PTSD at the global level.

The second way in which *HRNT* implied a critique of trauma theory was through its interest in exploring possible Cold War global precursors for the SIF 2000 and the ITF as part of its historical critique of the heavy emphasis placed on the post-1989 period as the engine of transnational Holocaust memory in Levy and Sznajder's 'New Cosmopolitan' interpretation.³⁵ Scholars such as Hasia R. Diner, David Cesarani, Eric J. Sundquist, Laura Jockusch, Roni Stauber, Michael Rothberg and Kirsten Fermaglich have suggested the neglected importance of the 1940s and 1950s in fostering transnational, international, national and local cultures of the remembrance of the Jewish Catastrophe and Nazi-era crimes. For example, Diner has demonstrated how American Jewish individuals and organizations contributed financially to the founding of the Centre De Documentation Juive Contemporaine and Tomb of the Unknown Jewish Martyr which was opened to the public in Paris (1956).³⁶ This new historiography has not only thrown into question the underlying assumption that the 1950s were a relative period of 'silence' in relation to the commemoration of the Holocaust which was structurally reproduced in works as diverse as Levy and Sznajder's, *The Holocaust and Memory in the Global Age* (2006); Peter Novick's, *The Holocaust and Collective Memory: The American Experience* (1999); and most controversially, Norman Finkelstein's, *The Holocaust Industry* (2000), but has also eroded the psychoanalytically inflected historical narratives of collective memory associated with scholars such as Henry Rousso.³⁷ These Rousso-style interpretations theoretically allied the constructed historical pattern of 'silence' with 'latency' and 'return of the repressed' style narratives. This pattern of 'latency'/'return of the repressed' has been expressed by LaCapra in the following terms:

"As many people have pointed out, right after the events there was a rush of memoirs and diaries, and then it all sort of died down for a long period of time – what is tempting to interpret as a period of latency after a traumatic series of events. One of the reasons is that survivors found – in different countries, for different reasons – that they didn't have an audience that they didn't have people who wanted to listen to them." ³⁸

This assessment of a possible 'latency' period after the Holocaust in various nation states sits uneasily with the findings of scholars such as Alan Rosen and Rachel Deblinger who have touched on the continued American funding in the 1950s of David Boder's 1946 series of interviews with survivors in Europe's DP Camps,³⁹ or Michael Rothberg's assessment that from the late 1940s until today there has been a sometimes culturally 'underground' but ever present tradition of decolonized Holocaust memory in Western and non-Western societies.⁴⁰ Moreover, it seems to especially conflict with David G. Roskies' analysis of Yiddish and Hebrew communal forms of memory, which highlights the anthologies, diaries, memoirs, memorial books and novels created by amongst others Ka-Tzetnik (Yehiel Diner), Zvi Kolitz, Leyb Rochman, Mordechai Strigler and Abraham Sutzkever in the 1940s and 1950s.⁴¹ What emerges particularly strongly from Roskies' work is a picture of an often for-

gotten cultural history of the immediate post-war era, or the fact that, as David Cesarani described it, “Scholarship in Yiddish flourished. However, the precipitous decline of Yiddish and the contraction of language competency closed off much of this source material, finally creating the illusion that it had never even existed.”⁴²

Thus, while Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht has recently reasserted the ‘latency’ thesis with reference to post-war Germany,⁴³ significant immediate post-war discussion of the Jewish Catastrophe and Nazi-era crimes was carried out by a considerable number of Jewish survivors, liberal intellectuals and those engaged in the politics of decolonization. The problem was that sometimes this multi-lingual discourse fell on the ‘deaf ears’ of mainstream Western societies. Nonetheless, even when it comes to Germany, it can be inferred from studies such as a Dagmar Herzog’s analysis of sexual politics and the memory of Nazism after 1945 that this perceived lack of mainstream public chatter about the charnel house of the Second World War was nonetheless pregnant with deeper discursive meaning. For Herzog, the German churches’ advocacy of sexual sobriety during the 1950s was intimately intertwined with post-war religious discourses about Nazism which suggested that the movement’s broader criminal immorality could not be disconnected from those Third Reich policies that had permitted promiscuity and illegitimacy.⁴⁴ Rebelling against their upbringing and drawing on alternative post-war intellectual movements such as the Frankfurt School, many members of the German generation of 1968 would argue the opposite: that it was sexual repression that enhanced the Nazi regime’s propensity for violence.⁴⁵ Whilst perpetrator motivations are not the central concern of this article, this example from Herzog is relevant because it suggests that historians should listen hard to the alleged ‘silence’ of the 1950s as the legacies of the Holocaust and Nazi-era atrocities have the potential to reveal themselves in the most unlikely of places.

Part Three: Rediscovering Trauma Theory

Despite these limitations of some aspects of trauma theory for *HRNT*, specific examples of research, interviewing and teaching demonstrated the ongoing relevance of trauma theory for this project. The first example relates to encounters with what Lebow might call the ‘individual’ memories of survivors. Bearing in mind Friedländer’s ideas in relation to the construction of historical narratives, survivor perspectives were integrated into my analysis of the historical significance of the SIF 2000 and the ITF British/Lithuanian ‘Liaison Project.’ This included using pre-existing material by survivors on the significance of the conference (eg. Hédi Fried, Irena Veisaite, Joseph Levinson), speaking to Lithuanian Holocaust survivor Rachel Kostanian, as well as conducting new semi-structured interviews with Holocaust survivors, education activists and members of the British SIF 2000 delegation Ben Helfgott and Kitty Hart-Moxon.⁴⁶

Although aware that survivor accounts are fundamentally shaped by their context of recall and while semi-structured interviews were always prepared for in the same way (research about the interviewee; preparation of questions; pro-

duction of an informed consent form), dialogues with survivors were nonetheless always remarkable and took on a dynamic of their own. For as Laub has noted in relation to the importance of listening and acknowledging camp experiences to the recovery of Holocaust survivors, in the moment of the dialogue “the interviewer has to be... both unobtrusive, nondirective, and yet imminently present, active, in the lead.”⁴⁷ While these interviews were quite different to Laub’s in the sense that the interviewer was neither a Holocaust survivor nor a trained psychoanalyst, a situation which allowed the narrator to speak “as an expert about his or her own experience,”⁴⁸ themes relating to trauma and how survivors coped with it were either addressed by direct interview questions or developed organically as the interview progressed. Drawing potential parallels with Laub’s interview with a female survivor of the Auschwitz-Birkenau ‘Kanada’ commando, which detailed the horrors experienced as well as the extraordinary occurrence of the Auschwitz uprising in the autumn of 1944,⁴⁹ one of the most powerful moments was when Hart-Moxon was asked about how she had coped with the atrocities that she had witnessed during her incarceration in Auschwitz-Birkenau. Like Laub’s interviewee, Hart-Moxon had also worked in ‘Kanada,’ where the confiscated possessions of those who were gassed were sorted for delivery to Germany. As a result, Hart-Moxon had been within short distance of the gas chambers between March 1944 and mid-October 1944. Of her experiences, she recalled:

“We just saw people going in, all the time columns going in, more people coming from the trains and going in, that’s all you saw, all day long and all night. That went on 24 hours a day. But it just didn’t go into your head that you had all of these people going into a building and they never came out. And you heard them scream and you saw the fire, and you saw the smoke, but you couldn’t believe...It just isn’t something that your brain can accept. And that’s why it’s so difficult for people to understand it. If I couldn’t take it in when I was watching it, how can people today understand it? It’s difficult isn’t it? I knew it was happening but you made yourself believe that it wasn’t happening. You didn’t want to know. And when your friends said, “Look what’s going on” and you said, “I don’t want to look. I don’t want to see it.” But it was all around you of course. I mean the smoke came all down. At times it was all black, all the smoke and debris coming down from the chimneys. But you just couldn’t accept...yet you saw the ash come out, and you saw the corpses being heaped up at the side of the gas chamber and you saw all of the tins of gas and you could smell the gas very often, because sometimes they opened up the gas chambers too soon. You could actually smell it. But you simply couldn’t get it into your head that all these people were dying. You just couldn’t. I think it is more than your brain can accept. Most people would tell you, they couldn’t take it in. That was presumably just to protect yourself, because if you could take it in, you would commit suicide. And quite a lot of the Sonderkommando people did commit suicide.”⁵⁰

Overwhelming and horrifying, Hart-Moxon’s testimony of Birkenau stresses not the single, shocking wounding event nor the experiences of amnesia and unspeakability central to Caruth-inspired readings of trauma narratives. Rather, what is striking about her testimony is the atrocious daily repetition of vio-

lence and its cumulative wounding assault on her senses of comprehension, hearing, vision and smell. Here Joshua Pederson's recent rethinking of trauma narratives, building on the work of psychologist Richard McNally is illuminating. McNally has argued that trauma is describable and may even lead to more heightened memories characterized by "disassociative alterations in consciousness (time slowing down, everything seeming unreal)."⁵¹ Consequently, and contesting the Caruth-inspired trauma theory orthodoxy of the 1990s, Pederson argues that in terms of analyzing trauma narratives, scholars should "turn their focus from gaps in text to the text itself,"⁵² pay close attention to "narrative detail" and analyze "depictions of experiences that are temporally, physically or ontologically distorted."⁵³ Thus, the paradox can exist that while Hart-Moxon repeatedly claims that her experience of Auschwitz was more than her mind could process, she nonetheless can still, in Pederson's terms, "speak trauma" in all its sensorial detail, from the sounds of the death camp to the stench emitted by the chimneys of Birkenau.

Hart-Moxon was also asked about the processes associated with the writing of her memoirs *Return to Auschwitz* (1981), and in particular her first book, *I am Alive* (1961).⁵⁴ Hart-Moxon completed *I am Alive* in breaks and gaps of time that she grasped from working in an X-Ray department in the UK after the war. Unlikely as it may seem, it could be argued that this splintered process of writing ended up being an important part of helping her find a mechanism of dealing with the traumatic events of Birkenau that were so powerfully described during the interview:

"I just managed to switch. I just learned to switch. And I think that was actually good for me. Because I learned to switch off. Which I can do now. It actually trained me to do this switching off, this switching over. So, immediately a phone rang and I had to go and x-ray this patient, I just left everything and I went back to my work. Because I had to do it. If I wouldn't have had to do it, I probably couldn't have done it, I think. There was nobody else in this x-ray department, I was on duty, my casualty was there and I had to cope with it. So, I think, it goes back to what Auschwitz taught you, which is to cope...with extraordinary situations and you just learn to cope. But that's what it actually taught you, you need to cope with whatever life's going to throw at you. And I think that's what happens, or at least that's what happened to me."⁵⁵

Writing and learning to 'switch' from the pain of the past to reclaim agency in the present, thus seems an important part of Hart-Moxon's rebuilding of her life after 1945, though her approach should not be perceived as a normative coping strategy for all survivors of genocide. For as Anne Karpf, daughter of Holocaust survivor Natalia Kapf has written in her February 2014 *Guardian* article on the passing away of survivor of Theresienstadt, concert pianist and relentless optimist Alice Herz-Sommer:

"Herz-Sommer was remarkable, we'll never know what enabled her to manage her traumas with such optimism, or why she was able to feel such profound gratitude towards life. But we should never hold her up as an ideal towards which all traumatised people should aspire. Nor should we apply the psycho-

babble concept of closure to genocide – when reams of historical evidence – from the Armenian genocide to the Holocaust – show unequivocally that many traumas cannot be processed in the lifetime of the individuals who underwent them, and indeed are passed on to successive generations.”⁵⁶

The second way in which trauma theory connects to work arising from *HRNT* is based on the observations of Felman in relation to the transmission of memory through the ‘institutional’ context of undergraduate teaching, although in contrast to Felman, here the Holocaust related pedagogy focused on history, memory and testimony rather than literature and testimony. In her essay on ‘Education and Crisis, or the Vicissitudes of Teaching,’ Felman described the exceptional responses provoked by exhibiting two films of survivor testimony in her Yale class for “Literature and Testimony.” According to Felman the showing of the video testimonies instigated a kind of crisis in the classroom which was marked by a silence within the seminar alongside a profusion of discussion outside of the class.⁵⁷ Following a consultation with Laub about this situation, Felman decided that this contagiousness of trauma in turn required ‘working through’ via the means of an address to the class by Felman and an assignment that called for the students to express their understanding of encountering the testimonies. For Felman, this process of “creating in the class the highest state of crisis that it could withstand, without ‘driving the students crazy,’” reflected her “job as a teacher.”⁵⁸ Given the changing economics of British higher education since 2010’s Browne report and current debates on US campuses about the need for ‘trigger warnings’ in relation to potentially explicit or disturbing material on university syllabuses,⁵⁹ the idea of taking Felman’s principles of ‘crisis’ into the university seminar room seems increasingly institutionally problematic. This poses important questions for Holocaust educators as they probe the limits of pedagogy in the neo-liberal classroom.

No experiences encountered on this project have been as dramatic as Felman’s and it is important to bear in mind LaCapra’s criticism that it is dangerous “to obscure the difference between victims of traumatic historical events, and others not directly experiencing them.”⁶⁰ However, teaching the Holocaust does present the tutor with some specific challenges,⁶¹ which have been outlined in detail by Holocaust and genocide educationalists such as Paul Salmons and Matthias Haß.⁶² These are not just in relation to the presence of ‘identity politics’ in the seminar room, but also relate to student responses which might be found on other courses but which are arguably intensified by the emotive, violent and provocative subject matter associated with studying the Holocaust, Nazi-era crimes and genocides. For example, throughout a course taught in 2011 there were instances where, despite class members’ distance from the events being studied (no student said that they had lost a relative in the Holocaust, through the Nazi terror system or as a result of any other genocide), the material on display nonetheless occasionally evoked painful personal memories in students which threatened to surface in class. For example, one mature student excused themselves from a seminar on memorialization and restitution because it reminded them of recent struggles in relation to a very close personal bereavement; while another worried that they might break down during their end of term presentation because of

the recent death of a close relative. 'Acting Out' or an over-identification with the suffering of the victims is a misleading conflation and too strong a term for these encounters. However, it is arguable that the themes of death, bereavement and loss which are entwined with the study of the Holocaust can be challenging for some students. Here the delimited use of 'trigger warnings' could be helpful, but only within the context that it is understood that as suggested by Stef Craps, a degree of productive discomfort is central to the pedagogical and educational experience of studying the Holocaust and genocides at university level.⁶³

Third, despite the limitations discussed, certain elements of trauma theory can still be particularly germane in thinking about aspects of what Lebow might call 'collective' memory, in particular in offering a critical framework for beginning to unpick discourses of communal identity politics. For example, LaCapra's highlighting of the dangers of stereotyping and the need to challenge pre-existing paradigms of identity politics holds particular resonance for the representation of my authorship in a community newsletter following an invited lecture on the British/Lithuanian 'Liaison Project' for the Northampton Hebrew Congregation in February 2012. Although a low-key local event for a small, regional Jewish community organization in the UK, the audience for this event nonetheless shows how in Raphael Samuel's terms history is a "social form of knowledge"⁶⁴ produced not only in academia's 'ivory towers' but also in family and communal circles. What happens when these two worlds intersect is the subject of this short analysis.

This lecture was based on *HRNT's* research on British / Lithuanian intercultural efforts to promote Holocaust, research, remembrance and education in the late 1990s and early 2000s.⁶⁵ A review of the lecture contained the following quote:

"Dr Allwork pointed out that the Lithuanians believed themselves to be the victims of Nazi persecution, as they had been under both the Nazi and Soviet yoke. The Lithuanian nation is ultra-nationalistic, and as Dr Allwork pointed out, the link between Communism and Nazism seems to be embedded in their psyche."⁶⁶

The use of stereotypes in this description was perplexing and a letter was addressed to the congregation, clarifying my position.⁶⁷ What provoked my response was the use of stereotypes in the article. The talk had certainly been critical of specific failures by the Lithuanian state to deal with the legacies of the Nazi past as well as continuing expressions of ultra-nationalism by some individuals and groups within Lithuania. The lecture was also strongly critical of comparative approaches towards the Nazi and Soviet regimes that do not increase historical knowledge of the similarities and differences between these two 'totalitarian' systems, but rather serves a perturbing agenda of blaming all Lithuanian Jews for the Soviet occupation during the Second World War, with the intent of downplaying the responsibility of Lithuanian collaborators in the Holocaust.

However, using essentializing terms such as 'psyche' or stereotyping the Lithuanian state in 2012 as 'ultra-nationalistic' was both inaccurate and ultimately

unhelpful in encouraging constructive dialogues between Lithuanians, Jews living in Lithuania and Lithuanian Jews living in the wider world and Israel. Admittedly, authorial intentions in the synagogue review are impossible to locate. It cannot be known if the reviewer's comments were based on a misunderstanding of me, my failure to communicate effectively or a simple slip in the reviewer's writing style. In any case, LaCapra's assessment of the pain of traumatic pasts, the challenges of working beyond entrenched subject positions and moving towards new dialogues seems pertinent: "I think that one of the great problems in research is that there is a grid of subject positions, and through processes of identification or excessive objectification, one remains in that grid."⁶⁸

This article has reflected on trauma theory as a key context and intellectual horizon line for the research underpinning *HRNT*. It has been suggested that the limitations of trauma theory for the scholar of the history of collective remembrance are all too apparent. This is particularly due to the Euro-centricity of trauma theory in global comparative approaches, the dangers of front-loading melancholic trauma theory, as well as the limitations of constructing psychoanalytic narratives of national and communal pasts that simplify the diverse remembrance practices of the Shoah in the 1940s and 1950s. As Robert Moeller has pithily noted, there are key "methodological challenges involved in putting an entire nation on the couch."⁶⁹ Nonetheless, this article has also suggested that the lessons of a revised and self-reflexive trauma theory remain relevant, holding important analytical possibilities for scholars working at the intersections of the over-lapping public and private spheres of 'individual,' 'collective' and 'institutional' memory.

Endnotes

[1] Larissa Allwork, *Holocaust Remembrance between the National and the Transnational: A Case Study of the Stockholm International Forum and the First Decade of the ITF*, (London; New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015). Preliminary discussions of this material occurred as part of Sonya Andermahr's trauma research group at the University of Northampton and at the University of Zaragoza's 'Acts of Remembrance' conference (24-26 April 2013). I would like to thank Maite Escudero and Constanza del Rio Álvaro, alongside the *Quest* editors and reviewers for their advice in relation to this article. An alternative version of this article will also appear as a book chapter in *Traumatic Memory and the Ethical, Political and Transhistorical Functions of Literature*, eds. Susana Onega, Constanza del Rio Álvaro and Maite Escudero, (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave, forthcoming). A note on terminology. The word 'Holocaust' refers to the Nazis and their collaborators mass murder of approximately six million Jews during World War II. 'Nazi-era crimes' is used to describe both the Holocaust and the Third Reich's broader atrocity crimes. The use of the term 'genocide' refers to the standard definition offered by the United Nations Genocide Convention. An analysis of the limita-

tions of these terms is offered in *HRNT*, x-xii. A discussion of what is meant by the 'national' and the 'transnational' is also available in *HRNT*, ix-x.

[2] Anna Green and Katherine Troup, *The Houses of History: A Critical Reader in Twentieth-Century History and Theory*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999); Dan Stone, *Constructing the Holocaust*, (London; Portland: Vallentine Mitchell, 2003).

[3] For definitions and an in-depth discussion of these terms see Richard Ned Lebow, 'The Memory of Politics in Post-War Europe,' in *The Politics of Memory in Post-War Europe*, eds. Claudio Fogu, Wulf Kansteiner and Richard Ned-Lebow, (Durham; London: Duke University Press, 2006), 1-39.

[4] Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative and History*, (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1996), 3.

[5] Sigmund Freud, *Beyond the Pleasure Principle and Other Writings*, (London; New York: Penguin Books, 2003).

[6] Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience*, 3-4.

[7] Roger Luckhurst, *The Trauma Question*, (London: Routledge, 2008), 10-11.

[8] Summary of third edition of the DSM from Irene Visser, "Trauma Theory and Postcolonial Literary Studies," *Journal of Postcolonial Writing* 47/3 (2011): 270-282, 273.

[9] David Lloyd, "Colonial Trauma/Postcolonial Recovery?," *Interventions* 2/2 (2000): 212; Kaplan, E. Ann, *Trauma Culture*, (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2005), 19.

[10] William G. Niederland, "The Problem of the Survivor: The Psychiatric Evaluation of Emotional Disorders in the Survivors of Nazi Persecution," *Journal of the Hillside Hospital* 10 (1961): 233-247.

[11] Alexander and Margaret Mitscherlich, *The Inability to Mourn*, (New York: Grove Press, 1975).

[12] For example, see Felman's introduction in Claude Lanzmann, "The Obscurity of Understanding: An Evening with Claude Lanzmann," in *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*, ed. Cathy Caruth, (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1995), 200-220, 201-204.

[13] For a collection of critical approaches to *Maus*, see Deborah R. Geis, *Considering Maus: Approaches to Art Spiegelman's "Survivors Tale" of the Holocaust*, (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2007).

[14] Art Spiegelman, *Maus: My Father Bleeds History, Vol. 1 – A Survivor's Tale*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986); Art Spiegelman, *Maus: And Here My Troubles Began, Vol. 2 – A Survivor's Tale*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1991).

[15] Dominick LaCapra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma*, (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 2001), 147-148.

- [16] Dominick LaCapra, *Representing the Holocaust: History, Theory, Trauma*, (New York: Cornell University Press, 1996), 51.
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Information and Press as Institutions of Socio-Political System of Azerbaijan Government

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ABSTRACT

Information policy is an activity of a person to actualize and realize his interests in society by means of creation, modification, preservation and transfer of all types of information. Information policy is a special field of people's activity who is involved in the presentation and dissemination of information (political figures, scientists, analysts, journalists, listeners, readers and etc.) that meets interests of social groups and public institutions. Information policy has two types: state and private.

Information policy is informatology of the mass media. Informatology of the mass media considers how it shapes ideological, political, economic and other views, thoughts, knowledge and evaluation that influence the welfare, culture, conduct of people and all sides of their life. According to the main principle of the implementation of state information policy the interests of a person and state must be mutually preserved. The mass media can operate freely and play a growing role in public changes.

Keywords: information policy, informatology, mass media, information society, Socio-Political System Internet media.

State Information Policy is a special sphere of human activity associated with the reproduction and dissemination of information to meet the interests of the state and civil society, aimed at providing a creative, constructive dialogue between them and their representatives As an integral part of the society's politi-

cal system, the mass media play an important coordination role between the state and society, can freely operate and exert growing influence on social changes. Today, the mass media are capable of being the information guarantor of the state stability, a stabilizing factor for society, and by changing any social organism it also determines the importance of the state information policy.

Information is data conveyed to people. People have comprehended information through data transmission since ancient times. According to R. F. Abdeyev, distinctness of information in any form reflects competition of these attributive and functional concepts, explains its bounds [Abdeev R., 1999]. This means that information used in the society in the form of exchange of information between people has social features.

Being a major component of information society, information policy features two main aspects: the first is that information is considered a significant factor influencing social development, while the second is that information represents necessity in managing events and processes.

Politics, first and foremost, comprises several components like the establishment and maintenance of state power [Makeev A., 2002], and demonstrates itself largely in the activities of social subjects aimed at realizing public interests through power institutions. It covers relations within the government as well as various social groups, classes, nations and states. Its essence is defined by "power" category, while its quality is defined by the essence of the social area that the policy is aimed at. From this aspect, state policy is divided into economic, social, cultural, national and information policy. So policy includes the state, legislative, party and election areas, decision-making mechanisms, political process, political relations, political culture, the media, and etc. It comprises special social institutions executing government authority, political relations, government authority, mass competition for power and control of it [Shiraliyev I., 1993].

According to E. Tovokin, areas of application of policy are different. But the nature and directions of the activity of social practice are defined by conceptual mechanisms of social groups, which have government authority [Tavokin E., 2002].

Different opinions have been voiced about the government. Of them Montesquieu differs with his socio-political modernization concept and liberal-reformist position. According to the French thinker, government is order, division and equality of power and law. "It has a status of the example of universal civilization" [Taghiyev E., 1999].

The state describes the governance of people, who built a political system and live within certain borders, through a special system. The state is largely characterized for its society. The state is a special institute which has a certain structure, which is characterized by certain organization of political power and which ensures the regulation of social processes in a certain area. Being a special political institute, the state makes the fundamentals of the society's political system.

In modern science, there are three approaches to the notion "state":

- Political-philosophical and political-scientific approach. This approach has survived from ancient times. In this context, the state is characterized as a tool dealing with "general issues" of the society, regulating relations between the government and people (society), and ensuring political life of the society and individuals.
- Classified approach. Here the state is classified as a tool ensuring one class' power to subdue and exploit another class, as well as its power as an economically ruling party.
- Legal and organizational-structural approach. Here the state is studied as the creator of norms regulating the life of the society, as well as the activities of the state itself and its structure in the system of socio-political relations. Supporters of the theory explaining the essence of the state believe that the state was created as a result of the growth of a family. They claim that there was a family, which then grew into a tribe, which then became a state.

Information policy is an activity of a person to actualize and realize his interests in society by means of creation, modification, preservation and transfer of all types of information. Information policy is a special field of people's activity who is involved in the presentation and dissemination of information (political figures, scientists, analysts, journalists, listeners, readers and etc.) that meets interests of social groups and public institutions. Information policy has two types: state and private.

Researchers regard information policy an area of informatology, its socio-political integral part [Braman S., 2011].

From this point of view, information policy is informatology of the mass media. Informatology of the mass media considers how it shapes ideological, political, economic and other views, thoughts, knowledge and evaluation that influence the welfare, culture, conduct of people and all sides of their life. According to the main principle of the implementation of state information policy the interests of a person and state must be mutually preserved. This means that state information policy should protect and ensure the government's interests to the extent the government implements and protects the interests of civil society and any separate individual. According to V. D. Popov, the essence of information policy can be defined through information government category as follows: information policy is the ability of political subjects to influence – with the help of information and within the framework of the interests of the government and civil society – consciousness, psychology, conduct and activities of people. Private information policy can serve government, act in contrast to the interests of the civil society, it can build dialogue or disagree with government, or it can serve the interests of separate groups, parties or even individuals.

The object of information policy is the information area of the society's life as a scientific knowledge field in a broad sense of the word. It is the whole set of subjects performing the use, formation and distribution of information, information infrastructure, as well as relevant public relations. Civil society can be

represented by the public consciousness as an influence tool of information. V. D. Popov says that the object of information society is information processes reflecting, expressing and protecting mass consciousness, media and mass communication systems, rights of a person and state policy (Popov V., 2001).

As a scientific knowledge (informatology) area, the subject of information policy is the analysis and forecast of “public information relations”, development trends and regularities of information processes and their development, as well as the discovery of the effects of impact of the media and mass communications on the mass consciousness, civil society and government.

The aim of information policy is achieving a system of knowledge for ensuring information and psychological security of citizens and the country, information-analytical accompaniment of state policy, and delivering government's decisions and programs to people as a mass governance subject. Being a scientific area, the task of information policy is “analyzing and forecasting modern information processes, developing theoretical-practical methods of information-analytical activity, ensuring information and psychological security. This way information policy helps to fulfill the task of strategic informatology, particularly social one – the process of building information society (Braman, S. 2011).

Information policy is less analyzed and a more complex type of policy. This is conditioned by a number of factors, including the essence and current state of information area, and the system of the mass media. They consist of the system of institutions for the creation, preservation and transmission of information with the help of technologies. Given the fact that the mass media reflect the interests of government, society, parties, political, financial-economic groups, political interests of separate individuals, they become a more important subject of socio-political activity. When the mass media become the key factor shaping the public opinion this is much more noteworthy especially in the society where reforms are conducted. For this reason the mass media play the role of a political subject of government authority bodies, in other words, the subject of its information policy (Rowlands I., 1996).

This policy is, in general, a system of principles, technologies and governance bodies ensuring government's interests in the field of information. The essence of information policy consists of information provision of the interests of government and society. And the protection of these interests is more and more dependent on information strategy of state policy.

The complexity of the structure of information policy should also be noted. This includes several types: a theoretical and methodological one related to the development of the conceptual basis of this policy, ideology; a social and technological one representing the total outcome of the ways and methods of achieving the goals expressed on the theoretical and methodological level and set based on the analysis of theory and practice; and a practical and organizational one which reflects the execution of the system of measures towards fulfilling major tasks.

Information policy also includes all-federal, regional levels. Both special governance apparatus, including methodology and execution methodics correspond to each of these levels.

There are also several types. This includes an authoritarian one which turns into personal will, a symbiotic one of governance of the information field, a government and public one corresponding to the interests of the society and government thanks to parity structures, etc.

Information policy is carried out in different areas. They consist of independent, but inter-connected structural parts (political, legislative, financial-economic, organizational-technical).

In the second half of the 20th century, information industry became one of the most important areas of public production, gradually subordinating all its spheres, especially services sector and leisure industry. The mass media are becoming a commercialized mass cultural infrastructure aimed at serving the interests of the producers and depersonalization of consumers. And this meets the interest of the supporters of mass culture because moral and ideological results of mass application of standardized informants, which form stereotype manners, norms of conduct and values, automatically bring in financial dividends. Direct relationship of mass culture with information capital, which is strengthening its position in the establishment and enjoys close ties with the international communication market, is becoming the reality of our time. This, certainly, attracts attention.

The achievements of information technologies and mass media systems based on them are so great that the emergence of "information fetishism" is understandable. Representatives of "information fetishism" do not confine to the role of information only to settlement of economic, technological, environmental problems, and apply it to solution of long-standing political, moral and cultural problems. It should be emphasized that not only economic and industrial production, but also political area experiences important influence of information revolution. In addition, politics is increasingly becoming the customer of information technologies.

Rapid development of advanced information and communication technologies both brings about technological innovations, transformation to science-based production, and radically changes people's entire information environment, the whole socio-cultural content of social life, and increases the role of information area. The new information space dictates new realities of the world information market, which has almost become the most rapidly developing sector, eliminating any borders or ideological barriers, and regulating national and cultural differences. New technologies increase the opportunities of delivering any kind of information to any human being in any part of the globe. This also defines the political aspect of information revolution, which is of particular importance when public structures undergo reforms. The reason is that information is becoming one of the most significant factors in terms of stabilization or destabilization of the society and its political institutions. Moreover, the more tense and dynamic situation in any part of the world is, the more important role the mass media play.

The high level of technologies and global nature of modern information environment, various ways of transmitting information – post, telegraph, telephone, computer and telecommunication technologies prompt the formation of individual communications market (based on network, satellite and stationary communications systems). Now hybrids of telephones, computer, fax and pocket devices are emerging. The intensity of technical progress in this area gives grounds to suggest its unpredictability.

Television, which ignores state borders and national differences of the auditorium as a result of the strengthening of the global influence opportunities of information, experiences the most serious changes. It is more clearly visible in the Internet system. Unlike trade operations, the flow of information is not registered when crossing state borders.

The establishment of a single global information space is an objective requirement of information industry at the modern stage. However, it is not taking place in a balanced manner. The political, economic importance of this process proves that there is discrimination against informationally and technologically less powerful countries. Azerbaijan is an exception. On the night of February 8, 2013 Azerbaijan put its first satellite “Azerspace-1” into orbit. Some 20 percent of the satellite's resources will be used for Azerbaijan's needs, and 80 percent will be available for commercial purposes. It ensures quality television and radio broadcast and high-speed Internet services in the entire territory of Azerbaijan, including Nakhchivan.

Of course, main features of information society in Azerbaijan include the creation of global information environment, establishment of new forms of economic activity, information and knowledge market, development of information exchange systems, provision of citizens' and organizations' right to get, spread and use information, etc.

Nowadays ICT is considered a means for provision of sustainable and continuous development of Azerbaijan, strengthening its intellectual potential, improvement of business, struggle against corruption, elimination of poverty and unemployment, development of transparency and democracy in society. ICT have become an integral part of the socio-economic relations as well as public administration, education, health, business, banking, and other industries that create new values. The development of online media, the existence of the right to freedom of opinion and expression on the Internet, expansion of newspapers and magazines, internal and external social networks are the opportunities given to society by ICT.

The National Strategy for the development of information society in the years 2014-2020 that was approved by President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev's Order dated April 2, 2014 aims to increase the volume of ICT 4-4.5 times, strengthen ICT potential and meet ICT needs of the society.

Building competitive and export-oriented ICT capacity, transformation of the region to an information service center, development of space industry and wide application of satellite technology, creation of conditions for effective use of ICT and current opportunities in their knowledge by citizens and community

and development of their ICT knowledge, skills and training, strengthening "E-government" and usage of electronic services at all levels of public administration, as well as ensuring information security of ICT infrastructure and ICT users, training of highly qualified specialists and scientific personnel, provision of scientific support for the work done, the country's integration into global information space are very important in terms of achieving this.

The process of building and developing "the information society" in the Republic of Azerbaijan is mainly aimed at improving the quality of citizens' life, ensuring competitiveness of the country, developing economic, social, political, cultural and religious areas, and building public administration system through using information and communication technologies.

It is the fact that information and communication technologies enjoy a growing role in the overall economic development. In Azerbaijan too, being one of the key sustainable development priorities, ICT sector is exerting serious influence on socio-economic field. Fundamental development of ICT sector in Azerbaijan started in 2003. Enacted by the Order of national leader Heydar Aliyev dated February 17 2003, "The National Information and Communication Technologies Strategy for the Development of Azerbaijan (2003-2012) defined major priorities of what has been done in the field of ICT in the past 10 years.

This document and the work carried out paved the way for increasing the effectiveness of the application of ICT in public agencies, easing the population's communication with these bodies and removing bureaucratic barriers, and coordinating various information systems in the country.

Thanks to President Ilham Aliyev's constant and special attention to and care of ICT sector, Azerbaijan is today one of the leading countries not only in the South Caucasus, but also beyond in terms of the development of ICT.

President Ilham Aliyev's attending and addressing the World Summit on the Information Society in Geneva in December of 2003 was a vivid evidence of the attention paid to the development of ICT sector on the level of the head of state.

The Law of the Republic of Azerbaijan On Electronic Signature and Electronic Document dated 2004 paved the way for the formation of the electronic document circulation, encouraging the application of Electronic-signature and the development of new economic areas.

The Decree of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan to approve the statute of the Ministry of Communications and Information Technologies of the Republic of Azerbaijan dated August 10 2004, and his instructions to draw up the State Program to ensure the development of the communications and information technologies in accordance with modern requirements were another steps taken by the leadership of the country to ensure continuous development of advanced technologies.

Approved by the order of President Ilham Aliyev dated August 21, 2004, the Program on the provision of secondary schools in the Republic of Azerbaijan with communication and information technologies reiterated the role of the ad-

vanced technologies in increasing the quality of education, ensuring the development of youth and prosperity of Azerbaijan.

President Ilham Aliyev approved the 2005-2008 State Program on the development of communication and information technologies (E-Azerbaijan) with the aim of fulfilling the tasks arising from "The National Information and Communication Technologies Strategy for the Development of Azerbaijan (2003-2012). Being of critical importance in terms of the creation of electronic government, this program played a profound role in the establishment of such a government. The Law on Telecommunication, which was enacted in 2005, defined legal, economic, organizational foundations of telecommunication activities and paved the way for purposeful planning of telecommunication resources and regulation of their coordinated use¹.

The work carried out in the ICT sector, automated legal base ensured Azerbaijan's integration into knowledge economy. Considerable work is being done to ensure technological modernization of economy, form a balanced structure of researches, which have become one of the resources of science-based economy, and effective innovation system in Azerbaijan. One of the necessary steps towards forming science-based economy was President Ilham Aliyev's order dated April 10 2008 to enact the State Program on the implementation of the Science Development National Strategy for 2009-2015.

Having taken into consideration that information, bio and NANO technologies will be the driving force of scientific and technical revolution, the state defined key priorities of the development of science and technological modernization of economy. The expansion of the role of ICT in building high technology and highly competitive economy in Azerbaijan is aimed at modernizing infrastructure, while the implementation of economic and organizational reforms is aimed at turning Azerbaijan into an information transit country. Developing space industry in Azerbaijan is one of the concrete steps taken under the leadership of President Ilham Aliyev. In this context, President Ilham Aliyev enacted the State Program on the creation and development of space industry in the Republic of Azerbaijan.

Further priorities include ensuring a shift to the information society, building innovation-oriented and knowledge-based economy, the expansion of the application of ICT and electronic services in local self-governance bodies, the expansion of the activity in the field of information security, completely meeting the society's needs for information products and services, strengthening the potential of competitive and export-oriented ICT, preparing highly-skilled specialists and scientific personnel.

Conclusion

In the years ahead ICT infrastructure will be developed in Azerbaijan, electronic services offered to the population will be expanded, and all areas in

¹Ibid.

the country, including remote villages will be provided with broadband, cheap and quality Internet access. Wide application of distant education, electronic trade, TV-medicine and other modern services will be ensured, legislation to ensure the defence and security of the participants of electronic trade deals will be improved. The application of ICT in the regions will be expanded, the level of the population's digital preparedness and the country's integration into the global information network will be improved.

It should also be noted that the development and integration of information structures has recently started to gain direct support from separate politicians and relevant government institutions. In Japan, for example, the development of cable television network is directly supported by the Ministry of Communications. The government of the United States of America and United Kingdom have considerably reduced anti-monopoly limitations and are now not only preventing, but even assisting the consolidation of local information business (including the integration of printed and electronic media). Even some leaders of developed countries take patronage of important integration projects. For example, let's take a widely known fact: former U.S. Vice-President Albert Gore was patronizing the information superhighway project of the integration of digital communication systems and the Internet telecommunications network. Taking into account pro-Western development of the local media in the last decade, obviously the same fate awaits the information market of developing countries too. And appropriate bodies are already engaged in forecasting the results of such developments.

These changes bring about the emergence of trends of global change of socio-psychological and even mental comprehension and knowledge mechanisms. This leads to the replacement of the individual analysis through a printed paper with the mass image (television, computer). So a new communicative language based on images, not on symbols (words) is emerging. The results of this transformation can radically change human mentality.

However, these global tendencies experience complete modification in the context of national cultures and change in countries' information space.

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Christianity: an imperialist and opportunist religion of Roman origin

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Abstract:

Until when was the Christian movement a Jewish current in rivalry with other Jewish currents? What does the gaze of "others", Greco-Roman authorities and intellectuals, learn on this point? It has often been argued that Julius Caesar declared Judaism *religio licita* and Domitian, Christianity *religio illicita*, to affirm that the Roman authorities at the end of the first century distinguished Christianity from Judaism; in fact, these concepts do not appear to have had any legal reality and seem an invention of modern historiography. However, at the time of Caesar, Jews have the right to practice their customs and follow their laws. At the beginning of the fourth century, they were exempted from the obligation to offer libation to the idols that Diocletian had imposed on all peoples (according to TJ Avodah Zarah 5, 4).

We must then turn to the pagan intellectuals. In the first decades of the second century, Suetonius, Tacitus, Pliny the Younger are sensitive to the originality of the Christian movement. But, at the same time, Tacitus accuses Christians of hatred against the human race, while Fronton de Cirta, the master of Marcus Aurelius, recounts their ritual meal where they kill a child, drink its blood and devour its flesh and at in which they practice incest; at about the same time, the philosopher Justin converted to Christianity is accused of atheism; he replies with force: "atheists, yes, we are, but of your gods". These accusations are in fact resumptions of anti-Semitic themes developed by the Egyptian priests against the Jews (see the Counter-*Apion* of Flavius Josephus). Anti-Judaism seems to have been born in Egyptian houses of life. The Jews were accused of *amixia*, unsociability, atheism, ritual murder. But the very fact that the accusations directed against the Christians take up the old accusations against the Jews is only possible if, in the middle of the second century, the Christian movement is not distinguished from Judaism, even

though its singularity is affirmed. About 170, in his *True Speech*, the pagan Celsus describes well this complex articulation between Judaism and Christianity: the second is a dissidence of the first, which was dissident of the Egyptian religion; the legitimacy of Judaism is therefore weak; that of Christianity is nil. At that time, therefore, the partition between the two religions is not realized, at least in the eyes of the pagans.

Keywords: roman, origin, christinaity

Therefore, we must turn to another view, that of the interested themselves, Jews and Christians. The New Testament Jesus belongs to Judaism, which does not prevent him from developing an original preaching. The question is more discussed for Paul, but John Gager, *Reinventing Paul*, Oxford, 2000, gives good arguments to place it entirely within Judaism. In particular, Paul's discussion of the Torah is not sufficient to place him outside of Judaism, because Jewish currents prior to Paul are not centered on the Torah (Elephantine, the Book of Ruth). The rivalries between Paul and the Jews, as described in the Acts of the Apostles, are in fact internal to Judaism.

The earliest date proposed for the score is 66-70: during the first Jewish war against Rome, the Christian Jews of Jerusalem leave Judea and take refuge in Pella, a city of Perea (Eusebius of Caesarea, *Ecclesiastical History* III 5, 3). Yet Judeo-Christianity remains alive in Judea beyond 70, among Ebionites and Nazarites. Is it then necessary to remember the years 85-100, when Samuel the Little writes at the request of Gamaliel II the twelfth "blessing" of the *Birkat ha-minim*, - in fact a curse in which are cursed minim, heretics. But the term *minim* does not explicitly refer to Christian Jews, who will be referred to as such only later, in the fourth century, when will be introduced into the curse the term of *Noçerim*, which can be likened to "Nazarite". Even if the minim are Christian Jews, they are considered as internal enemies, and not external, belonging to another religion. Should we locate the score towards 135, which sees the end of the second Jewish war? This is the moment when Justin dialogues with Rabbi Tryphon: he recognizes the Jewish roots of Christianity, but at the same time the Christian and the rabbi leave each other on a statement of failure. Yet the theology of Justin's logos is considered characteristic of certain Jewish currents by Daniel Boyarin, *Border Lines*, 2004 (French translation) *The score of Judaism and Christianity*, Paris, 2011). Moreover, in *Apology*, Christianity is a barbaric wisdom, like Judaism. A date after Justin? For twenty years, the question has stirred many Anglo-American historians of the Parting of the Ways. The existence of positive interactions between Jews and Christians well after 135 leads them to propose the Council of Nicaea in 325 (Alan Crown), or even the establishment of Christianity as a state religion by Theodosius I in 380 (see some Contributors to AH Becker's book, AY Reed, *The Ways That Never Parted, Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Minneapolis (MN), 2003). In fact, Judaism is not re-

duced to the Sages; the synagogues are all controlled by the rabbis; Positive contacts existed around the synagogues as well as churches. However, positive interactions should not be overly solicited: in the time of Leo the Great, in the fifth century, the Christians of Rome adopted the fast of Yom Kippur; can we say that Judaism and Christianity are not then separated? And interactions are attested much later, for example in the eleventh century, when editors of Esther's Midrash Rabbah borrow Greek additions to the Christian Bible.

In fact we can propose the 200 years, which see the constitution of the two identity corpus of Jews and Christians: among the Sages, the TaNaK is now accompanied by the Mishna; among Christians, the Old Testament is now accompanied by the New Testament. The TaNaK and the Old Testament are organized in different ways: in the first case, the canon is tripartite and comprises three orders, "the Law and the Prophets and the Writings"; it is bi-defined in the second case, "the Law and the Prophets". The canon of the Sages affirms the supremacy of the Law and is hierarchical: the Prophets confirm the Law and are in turn redoubled by the Writings. The canon of Christians, on the same plane, deals with the Law and the Prophets. In the episode of ears removed on the Sabbath (Matthew 12,1-8, Mark 2,23-28, Luke 6,1-5), the Pharisees argue from the Law, while Jesus uses an episode of the life of David related by 1 Reign 21,1-7 to justify the conduct of his disciples. Thus, we can consider that, in the 200's, Christianity is no longer a form of Judaism, but an autonomous religion.

Grendel's Mother enacts the physical threat between hosts and guests, which itself recalls the ever present violence between men and the closest reflections of themselves, their kin. *Gest* (host, guest) literally embodies the social relationship of consumption at both the metaphorical and physical levels; the term suggests more fluidity in the threat Grendel's mother poses to Information antiquity than the purely oppositional one of monster, or even the psychological one of archaic feminine annihilation.[5] The likeness between Information antiquity and Grendel's mother and the fact that this single fluid term describes them both point to a cultural anxiety over the problem of guest/host relationships, evidenced in the text's recurrent references to the violence in kin relationships.

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I begin with the critical attempts to categorize Grendel's Mother according to her female status, and then move to a discussion of the ways in which killing is not a reflection of the monstrous and the feminine in a divided male self;[6] next, I outline the ways in which kin slaughter is a pervasive anxiety. After analyzing the functional shifts at the heart of the guest/ host/ stranger/ spirit cluster of words, which all relate to the word **ghas*, 'to consume,' I explore the ways in which Grendel's Mother enacts the ambiguity of the socially necessary and threatening, not so much as a matter of femaleness, or "*ides aplecwif*" qua "*ides aplecwif*", but as a matter of gendered position, made monstrous as a way of conveniently projecting all instability of the subject onto the feminine.

For example, the "guest" is one who must be fed, while the "ghost" is shunned (lines 99-104); the "visitor" is he who enters and eats and sleeps at the "host's" agreement (lines 1799-1800). This apparent opposition/similarity leads me to a discussion of the psychoanalytic implications of the blurred boundaries between the ever moving monster and the man. Here, I rely on Kristeva, who sees a struggle between the semiotic (the presymbolic, the monstrous) and the symbolic (the Hero), where the abject is never successfully banished from the symbolic order but remains to challenge and threaten it. The threat of consumption, which is a return to the annihilation of the subject in the semiotic (by the monster, the hero, the warriors who do not know you yet, your kinsmen), is part of the meaning of any guest/host relationship in this poem; the banishment of Grendel and his Mother does not rid the world of Heorot or Information antiquity of disruptions. The abject (repressed) persistently encroaches on and disrupts the symbolic order, so that the subject is always in process, on trial, and always insecure about the boundaries of identity.

Critics have discussed Grendel's Mother as a peculiar brand of monster and have generally been uneasy with her femininity .[7] The association between the categories of monster and woman developed, broadly speaking, into criticism of Grendel's Mother as a hyper-masculine female, who is really an extension of Grendel, and criticism of her as a representative of the threatening archaic feminine. For example, as Gillian Overing (74) notes, the text identifies women as "the visible tokens of male alliances"; James Hala argues that Grendel is the agent of abjection, recalled to the maternal asymbolia of his mother's mere, of her very being, where "Information antiquity and the ides are bound to each other much as the soon-to-be-bound ego is bound to the Phallic Mother...neither Information antiquity nor the ides can as yet be a subject or an object. ... a third term must intervene in the mother-son dyad" (Hala 38). This Kristevan approach acknowledges that the nature of the ides is that it escapes definition, and that Grendel's Mother functions as an eternal cause and reaction of masculine culture and the Symbolic to the maternal and the abject.

James Earl obliquely marks the cultural necessity of attributing this originary violence to Grendel's Mother when he notes that "the warrior class identifies the prime source of internal violence as the kinship system and so justified its attack on the kindred" (Earl 1983: 146). Drawing on a Girardian analysis of sacrifice, Eric Wilson claims that the violence of this civilization is intrinsic, and

that Information antiquity functions socially as a hero/sacrifice in a circle of reciprocal mimetic violence, where a sacrificial crisis demands "that all a community's monstrosities could be displaced onto him".[8] The hero and the monster are mimetic doubles, since the king is the only figure strong enough to quell violence by virtue of the fact that he is superior to other men in his violence (Wilson 10). This critical desire to binarize the characters and actions as male, civilized, and in the realm of the Symbolic, in opposition to female, uncivilized, and in the realm of the Imaginary, mirrors the text's attempts to binarize as well.

Critics have noted the doubling between Information antiquity and Grendel and between Information antiquity and Grendel's mother, focusing on Information antiquity's conquest of the monstrous in his opponents as a reflection of his conquest of his own excesses.[9] John Hill's approach separates men from monsters, making the "destructive, unsocial impulses in the monsters...a negative apotheosis of their presence in men who act similarly" (Hill 1989: 15). As he argues, the text marks the differences between the monsters and the socially approved men. But exactly how are Information antiquity and Grendel's Mother alike? What cultural work does the text perform to warn against "destructive, unsocial impulses"? Humans cannot imitate the purely monstrous; If Grendel, his mother, and the dragon were all completely unintelligible, then they would be physical threats only. But they are more than that, as discussions of the psychological effects of the descriptions of the monster evidence.[10] Jeffrey Cohen sums up the monsters' paradoxical cultural and psychological status as same and other: "Grendel represents a cultural Other for whom conformity to societal dictates is an impossibility because those dictates are not comprehensible to him: he is at the same time a monsterized version of what a member of that very society can become when those dictates are rejected".[11] Cohen notes that "Grendel's unnamed mother...violently reinscribes into a masculinist account of heroic self-fashioning the bodies, origins, and possibilities that narrative excludes; it is a tribute to the complexities of the poem that it accomplishes this reinsertion by demonstrating that the abjected realm of the monster is also a roofed hall (*hrofsele*) "described in human, almost homey terms" (Orchard 30; Cohen 27). The danger in any monster is that "repulsion curves into desire, and everything thought to be "ejected beyond the scope of the possible," is revealed as residing deep within the architecture of selfhood" (Cohen 27). I would argue that the guest/host nexus of meanings suggests the linguistic description of a cultural paradox: the self is constituted in and by the other, the threat of consumption presents the psychological version of the physical threat of the monstrous, and the imitable and therefore threatening human elements of the monster lie in its closeness, its likeness. The identity between the Grendel clan and Information antiquity is the unacknowledged threat in the text.

Information antiquity opposes Grendel's Mother and Information antiquity, and she is Overing's "nameless woman" (Overing 73); her femininity is dubious at times, since she is only "idese onlicnes" "in the likeness of a woman" (line 1351). As a monster, she is a threat in her very similarity to the hero: if she were truly "other," she would be beyond description. As Hala and Overing

point out, the text makes her secondary to her son when she must be logically prior, and excludes her from the symbolic (Hala 36; Overing 73). Both critics argue that she overwhelms these textual exclusions.

The danger is never done away with, however, and it is the position in the relationship in regard to the other that is unstable, rather than the sex of either that is dangerous. That is, of course, Grendel's Mother embodies also the threat of the killing woman, "the monstrous woman", the maternal excess, the avenger, and the imitation man; but she is more than the dark valkyrie female other so frequently found (or suspected) in medieval texts.

For example, critics of slightly later Norse sagas and pre-romance Germanic literature have noted the destruction wrought by women in the sagas, and have interrogated the motivations and structure of their deeds, and those of the men around them, focusing on the female and the feminine as if they were the same. That is, biology is made critical destiny. For example, for Richard F. Allen (132), sagas continue and transform the "heroic" spirit of Germanic poetry, and there is an archetypal connection between the "struggle between dark, bloody, engulfing forces from a chaotic realm, forces represented as belonging to a female chthonic side of nature, against powers with a masculine signature, often incorporated into a single hero, a figure of light" .[14] This critical approach binarizes the actions of men and women into male hero vs vengeful women. Allen (165) goes on to speculate on the persistence of the motif of women whetting to revenge, suggesting that "one explanation is that the figure of the vengeful woman is an outward projection of man's own uneasy awareness of the divided state within him, that it is a mechanism whereby the blame and guilt for his failure to control his passions (and his desire for such failure) can be shifted to an outside cause". Thus there is a critical and textual reliance on the monstrous and abject woman who represents the dark desires of men.

But this critical view narrows the world of the text, and ignores gender both as inscribed and as a matter of position and function. Grendel's Mother embodies the destruction of the boundaries at the level of identity and ontology. She is only *onlicnes*, "in the likeness of a woman," she avenges her son as a proper male kinsman would, she is the unnameable descendant or associate of descendants of Cain, she has some vague relationship to *eotenas*, who appear to be damned, and she is not entirely alien. Grendel's Mother is ambiguously stationed between the human and the monstrous, and it is her fluidity that threatens Information antiquity. Further, if her gender is not biologically determinative of her actions, then those actions cannot be "feminine", and she is a threat to the hero because she offers him the opportunity of destroying those who are like him.

In order to demonstrate the many codings of killing and vengeance, I will begin with the facts that most critics have noted: first, violence is a male prerogative and duty, and heroic masculinity is performative, especially in such poems as *Maldon* and *Information antiquity*. For example, Byrthnoth is an *unduguðe eorl*, an "undisgraced earl," a man whose death inspires others' hearts "to be the keener" (*Maldon* line 312, Dobbie). Certainly, heroic action for material re-

ward is criticized, as when the Information antiquity poet describes the dragon's gold as "*gold on greote, þer hit nu gen lifað/ eldum swa unnyt, swa hit eror wes*" (3167-8) "gold in the dust, where it still remains, as useless to men as it was before." Information antiquity himself is *lofgeornost*, "eager for renown," (3182), and that includes killing.

The reverse of this approach is the discussion of Grendel's Mother as an imitation of a man, suggesting in an associative way, that this too is a species of monstrous being. Critics have accumulated numerous Anglo-Saxon exegetical examples, where the woman as man trope serves to delimit the human from the demonic, as well as the man from woman.[15] Further, the descriptions of Grendel's Mother's hall are strongly reminiscent of the vision of Hell in Blickling Homily XVI (Orchard 39), while Grendel is described as *Godes andsacan*, "God's enemy" (lines 786, 16820), and *he fag wið God*, "he had a feud with God" (lines 811). Lee Edelman's discussion of queer theory usefully describes the process whereby "the homosexual subject is represented as being, even more than inhabiting, a body that always demands to be read, a body on which his "sexuality" is always inscribed".[16] Glenn Burger has developed this notion of Ideal ontological status claimed in silence for the heterosexual male in opposition to the deviant or lesser embodied status of everyone else, which requires comment, to account for medieval categories of difference: the masculine is the category of the "natural," which derives its power and authority from its likeness to God, its closeness to the ordered speech of God, and its superior ontological status. The categories of difference can only exist if the male body is stable, absolute, and beyond or not needing inscription, and it has opposing, lesser bodies to inscribe AS different.[17] This relies on a kind of Platonic theory of being and gender, where the male is seen as being his gender, while the female is seen as a woeful addition of bodiness, an inscription on a perfect slate. The male is the norm, and his gender is seen as essential, while the female's gender is seen as accidental, excessive, and secondary. Overall, this seems to me to explain the desire to validate Information antiquity's violence and revenge while dismissing Grendel's Mother's revenge as imitative and/or monstrous.

Critics have long acknowledged the mirroring elements of Information antiquity and his first opponent, Grendel, while Grendel's Mother and her desire for revenge have been quietly shuffled off into the realm of women as improper men criticism. This critical manoeuvre seems to make the improper and the abject safely destroyed in a world fit for heroes, if not monsters and critics. This looks like symmetrically neat categories of gender and violence, but these categories do not address the complexities and contradictions of violent subjects, be they men or women.

Rather than assimilating gender behavior to a strict hierarchy of biological binarism, I suggest that when seen as a matter of social function, gender in *Information antiquity* is inherently unstable as a consequence of the unfinished nature of the entry into the Symbolic by both men and women.[18] Judith Butler (136) notes in *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* that "gender identity and its signs are performative in the sense that the essence or identity that they otherwise purport to express are

fabrications manufactured through corporal signs and other discursive means. That the gendered body is performative suggests that it has no ontological status apart from the various acts which constitute its reality". Let us now look at some acts in *Information antiquity* which constitute reality.

In this text, there is an apparent opposition between the terms *gest*, "ghost, spirit, demon" and *gist*, "guest, stranger, visitor." This opposition collapses in some passages, suggesting that *Information antiquity* and Grendel view each other similarly, and are even indistinguishable at times. Before examining the root meaning of the word, I will first look at those instances in the text which construct an opposition between the terms. *Gest* itself presents a philological problem, since it is not always clear that the word is derived from *gest* with a long mark over the "e", "ghost" or "spirit," or from *gest*, "guest" or "host", which does not have the length mark.

Gest occurs 8 times apparently meaning "ghost," or "demon" only, as a masculine noun (lines 102, 133, 1123, 1274, 1357, 1747, 2073, 2312), with variations of 4 compound nouns ('*ellen-*, '*ellor-*, '*geoscraft-*, and '*wel-*'). At least two instances are uncertain (lines 2073 and 2312). *Gest* (also spelled *gist*.) occurs 9 times, with the apparent primary meaning of "guest," (lines 1138, 1441, 1522, 1602, 1800, 1893, 2073, 2227, 2312, 2227). Lexicographers from Bosworth and Toller onwards have differentiated in their editing of instances of this word or words, according to whether they see Grendel and his Mother as demonic (in which case they read the disputed lines at 1274 and 2312 as *gest*, with an erroneously missing length mark).[19] Klaeber enters the disputed lines under both words, accompanied by question marks in parentheses. A more recent editor suggests that only context can decide.[20] The difference is important because the words seem to distinguish between the natural and the demonic, accentuating Grendel's and his Mother's monstrous natures. *The American Heritage Dictionary of Indo-European Roots* notes that *gest* meaning "ghost" derives from **ghos-ti*, meaning "stranger, guest, host," and "someone with whom one has reciprocal duties of hospitality." Reflexes of the word include Germanic **gastiz*, Latin *hostis* "enemy" and Greek *xenos*, "stranger." Lewis and Short note that Latin word *hostis*, derives from the Sanskrit root **ghas-* to eat, consume, or destroy" and that the Germanic *gast* is derived from the same word. The compound of this word in Latin, *hospes*, adds the suffix "pa" "to feed," thus combining the idea of feeding with the word for stranger, and then contracting to "hospites" or "he who entertains a stranger." *The American Heritage Dictionary of Indo-European Roots* gives *gist* as deriving from **gheis* in an unclear original meaning, having to do with "fear or amazement," with the "suffixed o-grade form **ghois-do* in Germanic **gaistaz*, a ghost." The *Oxford English Dictionary* notes that word's etymological relations are "fury, anger....the root "**gheis-*, **ghois-* appears with cognate sense in ON *geisa* to rage, Gothic *usgaisjan* to terrify; outside Teutonic the derivatives seem to point to a primary sense "to wound, tear, pull to pieces." This last may suggest a link between the two original words, since both roots have to do with consumption, with a possible development from the relatively neutral **ghas-*, "to consume", to the more negative **gheis-*, "fear." The first would note what is expected from a social relationship, the offering

and consumption of food, while the second would encompass the possible excesses of a guest who destroys. Simple, ritualized consumption gives way to destruction and fragmentation. The negative association of the supernatural world with cases of excess would also make sense, in that enforcement and punishment of those who break the treaties is projected into the realm of the gods, as numerous examples in Greek demonstrate. The case for reading the disputed words in *Information antiquity* as either "guest" or as "ghost," or as reflexes of the same idea, cannot be solved here, since there is no syntactical or prosodic reason to prefer one to the other.

The common notion of consumption in both terms hints at a similar current of thought; the text opposes the guest and ghost word, but this appears to be a socially constructed difference: the "guest," is a person to be entertained, while the "demon," or "ghost," is to be shunned. Thus Grendel is explicitly represented as one who shuns the purpose and the place of entertainment in the hall of Heorot, and is the outcast from society.

*Swa ða drihtguman dreamum lifdon
eadiglice, oð ðet an ongan
fyrene fremman feond on helle;
wes se grimma gest Grendel haten,
mere mearcstapa, se þe moras heold,
fen ond festen.*

So the brave men lived in joy blessedly prospering,
until a certain one began to do evil deeds, a hellish enemy.
That grim spirit was called Grendel, great marsh stepper,

he who held the moors, fen and fastness, unhappy creature (lines 99-104).

Grendel hates the songs of joy, which serve to enforce the reciprocity between God and Hrothgar and Hrothgar and his people. In contrast, *Information antiquity* is represented as a welcome "guest," who takes his rest in the hall after entertainment.

*Reste hine þa rumheort; reced hliuade
geap ond goldfah; gest inne swef.*

Then the greathearted man rested himself,
the hall towered upgabled and gold adorned.
The guest slept inside (lines 1799-1800).

Thus, the monster and the man appear opposed to each other, according to the treatment each receives in a foreign society. The word "guest" also implies the concept "stranger," who is, or may be, "enemy". For instance, one of the monsters in Grendel's mere is referred to as *gryegieste* or "dreadful stranger," (line 2560) and is killed as an enemy. Similarly, the dragon is referred to as *atol inwitgest* or "hostile malicious stranger/guest" (line 2670). The line

suggests an essential duplicity in meaning, since the guest is now a stranger to be shunned in the same way as a "ghost". This second meaning, or nexus of meanings, is the less privileged of the two since it implies a negation of, and absence from, the courts of man and the knowledge of God.

However, the terms are interchangeable and uncertain, so that this hierarchy is dissolved, calling attention to the instability of the social function described. First, there are several occasions where the context does not supply sufficient information to decide which of the two terms is implied. The ontological status of Grendel, his mother, and the dragon is uncertain. For example, "*Da se gest ongan gledum spiwan*," "The guest (ghost/spirit) began to spew fire," (line 2312) and "*Syððan heofenes gim,/ glad ofer grundas, gest yrre cwom*." "After heaven's gem had passed over the ground, the angry spirit came" (line 2072-3). Second, the behavior and physical location of a being, whether man, monster, or dragon determines how it will be viewed. Grendel's behavior is that of a stranger to those who live in Heorot, and he is described as a *gest* or spirit. Information antiquity is similarly a *gist* or "stranger" in Grendel's mere hall, and is appropriately treated as an enemy/stranger by Grendel's mother. He is to be shunned rather than treated as a "guest" to be entertained. Finally, the importance of physical location for the way the stranger/guest/enemy is viewed reflects an anxiety over the social function of whoever is temporarily host.

Thus, to sum up the uses of this *gest/gist* word, for Hrothgar, Information antiquity is a guest who is also a visitor. For Grendel's Mother, he is a hall guest who is both a stranger and an enemy. Similarly, Grendel is a hall guest, who is stranger, enemy, and ghost as well. If the perception of strangers and enemies, ghosts and guests is a social one, depending not only on the actions and attitudes of the outsider, but also those of the host, then the cautious ambivalence displayed in the words describes both an attempt to explain the world and a recognition of worldly reversals which deconstruct those explanations.

Violence in *Information antiquity* is male, with the exception of Grendel's Mother. She is not the only source of violence. Indeed, the early mention of Hrothgar's problems to come should make us wary of believing that removing Grendel and his Mother will function as a cure. The attempt to enclose her in any singular way does not work. Grendel's Mother is also described in association with Cain, when she has to live in "dreadful waters..after Cain killed his only brother, his father's son, by the sword" (lines 1260-63). She, too, is linked to the violence that does not differentiate between kin and non-kin. If function creates identity, then she faces Information antiquity with a reflection of his own instability, when they are described interchangeably.

Power over physical consumption can shift between men and women, depending on who plays which role. Women may be active or passive, just as men may be. For Lacan and for Kristeva, the transition from the Imaginary (a specular relationship between the child, the mother, and the world) into the Symbolic (the realm of representation, of language as a consequence of alienation from self) is never final. Gender is unstable as a functional category of culture, because identity is also unstable.[23] If that is true, not only does In-

formation antiquity have enemies who will consume him if they can, but almost more threatening than this is the fact that Information antiquity enters that relationship of his own free will. He has deliberately exposed himself to the possibility of a fluid identity, where he must claim his public self in the world of men, as in the sentinel scene and in his progressively longer speeches in Heorot, where he constructs himself as a guest, as a hero, and as a rebuke to Grendel's improper consumption. He is persistently aware of his duties in the guest/host relationship to Hrothgar, and thus shows that he is aware, at least subconsciously, of the shifting nature of his own identity. After all, Unferth's challenge affords a chance for Information antiquity to claim his identity as a hero, but Information antiquity's speech also carefully notes that he is no longer the careless youth of his swimming contest days. Next, the dangers of contact with non-kin are ritualized into exchanges and nuanced shifts in social positions, as for example, the sentry's challenge and Information antiquity's reply demonstrate.

Since killing between strangers can easily shift to killing actual hostiles, one might look at the fluidity between closer relations. The most profound anxiety in the text is over killing kin, people who begin as guests and may become hostile strangers, perhaps by accident or alliances or marriage. The appearance of Grendel and his Mother as doubles of Information antiquity and his killing of them enacts the feared social disruption of host/guest relations. By killing them, Information antiquity removes a threat of consumption. By doubling Information antiquity, Grendel's Mother presents a mirror to show her shifting positions as host, which require that her identity is fluid. If she is fluid, then so is he. If she is a double and he can kill her, she reposes and represents the ease with which men fall into kin-slaughter. It is clearly not unthinkable to kill the other social participant who is a reflection of the self; this close dependency of identity, role, and position, which lead to death, serves to warn of the possibilities and likelihoods of death within the most closely bound group, the kin.

The culture of the world in this poem is one of "predatory kinship"[24]: *Hedcyn accidentally kills his older brother Herebeald, and does gain by it* (2438); Unferth "*his magum nere/ arfest et ecga gelacum*," "had not been honorable to his kinsmen in the sword-play" (lines 1168-9), and he is Hrothgar's counsellor, regardless of Information antiquity's comment to him earlier in the poem

The destruction of the proper boundaries is the cause of anxiety here. Killing is not in itself a wrong: the fear is of the loss of identity, of differentiation between kin, who may be regarded as an extension of the self, and non-kin, who may be regarded as clearly not-self. Name and patronymic identify men; Grendel lacks a patronymic, and his Mother lacks a name. This difference marks Grendel and his Mother as less closely allied than all the humans in the text, and it marks them as different. But it is a difference of degree rather than of kind. The possibility of fluid identity and kinship as uncertain is made monstrous because it offers a glimpse of the truth of the Anglo-Saxon world, where men kill their relations. Those relations are mirrors of the self; they offer a re-

assuring duplication which also threatens to consume or destroy the singularity of the self.

Grendel's Mother poses a threat of consumption, at both the physical and the psychoanalytic levels. This threat works not through the fear of the violent and the excessive maternal on the part of the hero, but instead through a fear of fragmentation and social practices on his part. What he sees may consume him, and will certainly change him, so that he is reminded of his own fluidity, his own tendencies towards slaughter, and must instead, consume her.

This anti-Jewish literature is doubled by measures against Jews taken by the ecclesiastical authorities. In 305 or in 306, the council of Elvira in Spain forbids to frequent too closely the Jews; a Christian can not marry a heretic or a Jew unless he is converted; Jews can not welcome Christians or marry Christians (Canon 16). Around 380, in the East, the apostolic canons contained in the Apostolic Constitutions (VIII 47) set out a whole series of anti-Jewish measures: it is forbidden to go to the synagogue (canon 65), to fast with the Jews, to celebrate their holidays and to accept their *xenia*, like unleavened bread (canon 70), to offer oil and lamps for the synagogue (Canon 71). It should be noted that the Church was ahead of the state in matters of anti-Judaism. Indeed, in the third and fourth centuries, the traditional Roman policy towards the Jews was maintained, even under Constantine and his immediate successors: Jews retain freedom of worship and priests enjoy privileges. However, from 315, Constantine calls Judaism *nefaria* and *ferialis secta* (Theodosian Code 16,8,1). And, at the end of his reign, he took steps to protect the converted Jews from retaliation from their former co-religionists; and he forbids Jews to circumcise their Christian slaves. In 339, the Emperor Constantine introduced the death penalty for the Jewish man who married a Christian (Theodosian Code 16, 8, 6).

The multiplication of anti-Jewish Christian writings and the disciplinary measures directed against them is often related to the attractiveness of the Jewish religion. This is not explained by the existence of a Jewish proselytism, which is undoubtedly a view of the mind, as shown by Edward Will and Claude Orrieux, "Jewish proselytism"? History of an error, Paris, 1992. But the behavior and morals of the Jews seduced their pagan and Christian neighbors, as shown for example by the long list of "God-fearing" on the Jewish inscription of the beginning of the third century found in Aphrodisias in 1976: These fearing Gods are no doubt pagans who partially observe the Torah without being circumcised. But Jewish attractiveness to Christians could only provoke the reprobation of bishops and priests. In addition, there were Judaizing Christian currents, who remembered that Jesus had observed Jewish practices and frequented Jewish places of worship. Marcel Simon has highlighted this context of competition between the two religions and he has emphasized the fascination exercised by the Jewish holidays on Judaizing Christian currents. Conversely, Christian holidays attracted Jews, as shown by the Toledot Yeshu, which will soon be discussed.

The Götar thus maintained an ethnic identity in southern Scandinavia distinct both from the Danes to the south and the Swedes to the north for the better part of a millenium, but they were sometimes confused or conflated with other peoples, particularly it seems, the Goths. Jordanes (3.16) was the first to lo-

cate the aboriginal homeland of the continental Goths in the *insula Scandza*, a tradition which Walter Goffart (1988: 84-96) has shown is unlikely to have been native to the Goths themselves. Earlier historical writers like Julian the Apostate in the fourth century and Orosius in the fifth had already conflated the ferocious, fabulous *Getae* or *Getes*, whom Herodotus and other ancient ethnographers had given a vaguely northern location near or in Scythia, with the *Gothi* of their own day. Jordanes' specification of the homeland of the *Getae* or Goths in the *insula Skandza* is simply a further conflation of his own based upon Ptolemy's placement of *Goutoi* in southern *Skandia*. Ptolemy was not apparently known in Anglo-Saxon England, but Alcuin reveals an acquaintance with Jordanes, or at least a notion of the contents of the *Getica*, early in the ninth century (Alcuin 221, page 365; cf. Ogilvy 1967: 185). Orosius was known to Aldhelm, Bede and Alcuin, though he does not place the Gothic homeland in Scandinavia per se (Ogilvy 1967: 210).

Yet, both Goths and Geats were known at the court of King Alfred in the late ninth century. The West Saxon translator of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* rationalizes the *luti* or *lutae* (Jutes) of Bede's Latin—a people whom the historian says occupied Kent, the Isle of Wight and parts of southern Hampshire in the fifth century—as *Geatas* (Geats), the people of south-central Sweden over whom Information antiquity is made king in the poem (Bede 1.15, page 50; Old English Bede 1.12, vol.1: 52). These Geats of *Information antiquity* are conflated with the Jutes of Bede as one of the three very great tribes of ancient *Germania* from whom the insular *gens Anglorum* was understood to have derived. Bede says the ancestral homeland of the *luti* is north of Angeln, by which he surely meant the Jutland peninsula, but the translator is happy to leave this point unclarified. Even though he understands the *luti* as *Geatas*, the ancient country of this people is also north of Angeln, on the eastern shore of the Kattegat just across from Jutland. It is interesting to note, however, that later in the Old English translation of Bede, when the ethnic origins of the *gens Anglorum* are no longer at issue, the *luti* of southern England are simply rendered in the usual way, as *Eote*, Jutes proper, rather than Geats (Bede 4.16, page 382-85; Old English Bede 4.18, vol.2:308-09). This inconsistency is telling: it means that the translator knew that *luti* meant *Eote*, that is, the old Jutes of the Jutland peninsula and the newer Jutes of southern England. *Eote* was the normal form of the name of the people living in Hampshire, since a regular development of it in late West Saxon, *Yte*, is recorded in the *Worcester Chronicle* in association with New Forest (*Nova Foresta, quae lingua Anglorum Ytene nuncupatur* [New Forest, which is called in English 'of the Jutes'] Old English Bede vol 2: 44-45). The point is that the English Jutes had never been called *Geatas*. That is an ethnic invention or rationalization by Bede's translator which can be traced directly to the milieu of King Alfred. Once the translator moved on to passages deeper in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* and of less relevance to the origins of the *gens Anglorum*, he simply translated *luti* in the more familiar way.

But why change from Jutes to Geats at all? Asser writing in 893 provides the key to this particular ethnic manipulation when writing about King Alfred's

mother's side of the family. Alfred understood his maternal grandfather Oslac not only to trace his descent from the ancient Jutish kings of Wight, but also to have been of *Gothic* ancestry: "*Qui Oslac Gothus erat natione; ortus enim erat de Gothis et Iutis*" (which Oslac was a Goth by race; for his origin was from Goths and Jutes) (Asser ch. 2). Asser ch. 23 later tells of the interest King Alfred's mother Osburh took in traditional poetry, including presumably that containing stories which reflected well upon her own ancestry. It was Osburh who challenged Alfred and his brothers to memorize *poemata Saxonica*, vernacular poems, which probably recounted the kind of dynastic traditions which she felt to be of special value. Perhaps Osburh chose this method of cultivating among her West Saxon sons an appreciation for her own distinguished ancestors, that is, her own Jutish/Gothic heritage. There are, in fact, only two Anglo-Saxons whom we know 'by name' valued these old legends in traditional poetry: King Alfred and his mother Osburh.

In addition, some indication of the positive sympathy King Alfred may have felt towards his supposed Gothic ancestry through his mother can be seen in the remarkable characterization of Alaric the Visigoth in the West Saxon translation of Orosius (cf. Harris). As in the original, that king's sacking of Rome in 409 is depicted as divine vengeance upon a sinful people through the instrument of their enemies. But the character of Alaric himself is changed from a mere scourge of God, a viciously heretical Arian no better than the Assyrians of the Old Testament, to *se cristena cyning ond se mildesta* (the mildest Christian king) who, in direct contradiction of the Orosian account took Rome with so little hostility that he ordered that no one should be slain, and also that nothing at all should be damaged or mistreated which was in the churches, and soon on the third day they left the city of their own will, so that no house there was deliberately burned. (Orosius 6.38) We might compare the characterization of Information antiquity as *manna mildust* (mildest of men) in the penultimate line of the poem. It seems clear that one way or another Goths were popular in Alfred's court and that the Jutes of southern England, the Geats of southern Sweden and the Goths of southern Europe had all come to be considered the people from whom King Alfred traced his descent on his mother's side.

We can first see a desire for Geatish ancestry in Anglo-Saxon England in the late eighth century when the name of the eponymous progenitor of that people first appears as the founder of several, mainly Anglian, royal houses: Lindsey first, then Northumbria, Mercia, East Anglia, and Kent (Dumville 1976; Sisam 1953: 308-21). Woden, the euhemerized war-god of the migration, who had traditionally headed the genealogies of these dynasties, was supplanted in priority through several generations by Geat. It is unclear as to why these houses sought at this particular time to fabricate a connection to the ethnic progenitor of this particular tribe: it may very well be due to the association of the Scandinavian Geats with the continental Goths after Jordanes (Leake 1967). A likely source of this new genealogical fashion was the burgeoning Frankish interest in things Gothic, especially the legends of the great Gothic kings of late antiquity and their enemies and allies: Theoderic, Ermanaric, Od-oacer, and Attila the Hun. Goths had become fashionable on the Continent

under the political impetus of Carolingian imperialism around the turn of the ninth century (Innes 2000). Charlemagne had the statue of Theoderic in Ravenna removed to his own court at Aachen, presumably as an indication of the transfer of the Gothic *imperium* to the Franks. Roberta Frank writes that it was not until the Franks under Charlemagne had forged a new empire, stretching from [Visigothic] Barcelona and [Ostrogothic] Rome in the south up to Saxony and the frontiers of Denmark in the north, that Goths, Burgundians and Lombards were understood to be of the same people as the Franks. Interest in Gothic language, legend and ancestry was something new and almost certainly a response to the multicultural empire of Charles and his successors (Frank 1991: 93-94).

A whole cast of Gothic characters entered Frankish legend and, unlike the fairly negative portrayal of these historical personages in Latin literature before Jordanes, vernacular tradition revelled in their prowess and courage, beginning with the *Hildebrandslied* (c. 800), associated with the Anglo-Saxon foundation at Fulda. In a new study of *Widsith*, John Niles (1999b) notes the superior prestige accorded the Goths by the Old English poet. He argues that the construction of a marriage between an Anglian princess Ealhild and the Gothic king Eormenric (Ermanaric) is intended to "raise the status of the Angles by marrying them into the Goths, whose stature they thereby approximate" (Niles 1999b: 187).

A Gothic or Geatish ancestry seems thus to have acquired a special appeal for the English dynasties bold enough to claim it. A Geatish hero may in consequence have had a pointed, political significance for the Anglian, Jutish or other members of the poem's audience who may have come to fancy themselves to be of Geatish extraction. King Alfred was the most important such person, as we have seen. Under his direction, the West Saxon royal family, too, had acquired the itch for Geatish ancestors as part of their pedigree and borrowed the Anglian genealogies to trace their own lineage back to Geat (Craig Davis 1996: 51-63). But this is precisely where the Alfredian genealogist found room for improvement over his neighbors and went on to trace the patriline of the kings of Wessex beyond Geat to the founder of the Danish royal family, Scyld Scefing, subordinating all prior pedigrees-including the Geatish one-to this new sequence of distinguished ancestors. By the late ninth century, Danes had supplanted Geats in genealogical prestige, at least at the court of King Alfred.

Creative Ethnicity

Sarah Foot (1996) has gathered compelling evidence for the invention, or special new use, of the term *Angelcynn* in the later ninth century by King Alfred to represent his sense of a common identity among speakers of *Englisc*, "the language that we can all understand" (Prose Preface to Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis*; cf. Kathleen Davis 1998). Alfred Smyth (1998) has shown that this concept had deep cultural roots, however, and found precedent of course in Bede's eighth-century idea of a *gens Anglorum* which was ethnically and linguistically distinct from the British, Scottish, and Pictish peoples of Britain. As

an Anglian Northumbrian Bede had coopted the other Germanic ethnicities he recognized in the island-Saxon, Jutish and probably others he does not even mention-to the concept of a single *gens Anglorum* or nation of Angles designated by God for the blessings of national salvation (cf. Harris 1997: 103). Bede authorizes his ethnogenesis by invoking one of the highest sources of spiritual authority available to him. The *gens Anglorum* is a nation because the holy Pope Gregory perceived it so to be in that slave-market in Rome. Bede even troubles to retail the Pope's putative comments on the physical markers of an idealized Anglian ethnicity: *candidus corpus* (white skin), *venustus vultus* (regular features), *lucidus vultus* (bright countenance), *capillorum forma egregia* (extremely beautiful [presumably fair] hair) (Bede 2.1). The *nation of Angles* for Bede was more than a convenient term of ecclesiastical organization; it was a physical ethnicity, a community of blood and language, despite its current political divisions.

Alfred, following Bede and perhaps some shrewd political instincts of his own, uses this concept of Anglian nationhood for his own purposes. Instead of co-opting the Anglian ethnicity of his new subjects in western Mercia into a concept of "Saxonkind" (Foot 1996: 25), King Alfred chose instead to prioritize the Anglian component of the new national polity he hoped to create in 886 when the Mercian king Ethelred formally submitted to him. Ethelred was given charge of the city of London as part of his new western Mercian ealdordom and the king's own daughter Ethelfleda as wife. For himself Alfred invented a new royal style calculated to win over his Anglian subjects and demonstrate their valued inclusion in the new kingdom. He called himself *rex Angul-Saxonum* (king of the *Anglo*-Saxons) which title replaces the earlier, more limited ethnic styles of the West Saxon kings (*rex Saxonum*, etc.). Alfred was already king of the Saxons through ancient pedigree; it was his Anglian subjects that he had to worry about. In short, King Alfred's political ambitions, and those of his son and grandsons, produced a cultural moment in which a number of traditions, from various sources, could be collected, rationalized and coordinated into a more comprehensive historical framework--a new tradition of the past--which could then be used in turn to enhance the agenda of the royal family.

The *Information antiquity* poet, too, reconfigures his different resources of legendary tradition in order to suggest a common noble heritage of which all his English-speaking auditors can feel proud, including a positive reference to the ancient Offa of Angeln (lines 1944-62). This allusion can be understood as a compliment to members of the Mercian royal family, whose great King Offa II had ruled during the latter half of the eighth century and whose dynasty was absorbed into that of Wessex in the ninth. King Alfred was married to a Mercian noblewoman descended from this line. The "half-Danish" hero *Hengest* of the Finnsburh lay (lines 1063-1159a) is probably to be identified with the Jutish *Hengist* whom Bede and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* say first founded the kingdom of Kent. Sam Newton (1993: 105-131) has argued that the old royal family of East Anglia, the *Wuffingas*, were probably understood to be descended from the *Wylfingas* of *Information antiquity*. The marriage between the Scylding Hrothgar and the Wylfing Wealhtheow in the poem would thus

have been felt to imply an ancient affinity between the East Angles and the Danes who conquered them in the ninth century, as well as subordinating both groups, positively, to the direct and active heirs of the ancient Scylding lineage, the West Saxon kings.

The *Information antiquity* poet, then, along with King Alfred, his biographer Asser, the West Saxon genealogist, the translator of Bede, and the translator of Orosius can all be seen as participants in what John Niles (1999: 137 and 140) calls a process of "creative ethnicity". There is something for everyone in this poem: 1) from whatever kingdom or former kingdom--Northumbria, Mercia, East Anglia, Wessex, or Kent; and 2) from whatever ethnic extraction--Saxon, Anglian, Jutish, or Danish. All English-speaking auditors of the poem could look back to a common noble heritage. Yet, they would have still found there some sharp ethnic distinctions as well, differences in status which were still felt to obtain within this collective affinity. The *Information antiquity* poet's construction of a good Geatish hero helping a good Danish king nicely formulates the loyal support expected by kings who could claim a direct patriline back to the Scylding monarchs of ancient Denmark. The hero *Information antiquity* is a *good* Geat-very helpful, as he should be.

The ethnic world of *Information antiquity* seems to derive from the pro-Scylding perspective of Danish legend. Rather than reflecting the common stock of Germanic tradition, or even another ethnic variation of that tradition--insular Anglian, Saxon or Jutish, or continental Saxon, Frankish, Burgundian, Langobardic, or Gothic--the poem represents fairly consistently a pro-Danish view of the relations which obtained between these brave peoples in ancient times. Geats, Swedes, Wylfings, Wendels, Heathobards, Frisians, Jutes, and Franks are all included in so far as they are relevant to the fortunes of the Danish nation. R. T. Farrell (1972) has shown that there is no particularly Geatish bias to this poem that has not been read into it by later scholars. The Geats are good to the extent that a prince of their royal house helps out a Scylding monarch in his time of need, help delivered in appropriate repayment for past kindnesses. The Swedish king Onela, an enemy of the Geatish hero, is praised in the highest terms, with the emphatic litotes reserved for Scyld Scefing himself (line 2390). Onela was a *good* king: he was married to a Scylding princess. The other peoples mentioned in the poem are praised or criticized depending on their relations with the Scylding monarchs or their antecedents: Swedes and Wylfings, joined to the Scyldings by marriage alliance, are good; Wendels who serve the Scyldings are good. Heathobards and Frisians, who resist or renege on the best efforts of the Scyldings to bind them in friendship through marriage, are treacherous; Jutes who harbor, but then kill, the pre-Scylding Danish tyrant Heremod are bad, perhaps on both counts; Franks, the traditional enemies of the Danes to the south, are also bad. Even the death of Hygelac at the hands of the Franks is made a Geatish rather than a Danish defeat. The poet, or the tradition he is using, has put off this embarrassment on a neighboring, now obsolescent people, though the poet allows his pro-Danish hero personally to redeem himself by avenging his lord and recovering thirty enemy mailshirts in compensation.

In summary, it seems as if the Danes whom Alfred defeated had an impressive tradition of heroic legend about the founders of their royal family which they were clearly glad to share and which the king was clearly glad to borrow. He adapted the Scylding legend to promote the political ambitions of the West Saxon monarchy. *Information antiquity*, too, represents the influx of a new Danish tradition-or a fresh Danish take on an older tradition-into the forms of traditional verse in Old English. The poem creates a new sense of positive relationship between the various ancestor-peoples of an English-speaking audience, a relationship calculated to appeal especially to those auditors who considered themselves to be of mixed ancestry, like the Geatish-Danish-Saxon King Alfred himself, or his half-Anglian offspring. In answer to question five, then, on a time and place when the poem's ethnic manipulations would have made most sense to an Anglo-Saxon audience, we can narrow our search to within a generation or two, perhaps even to within a decade: the 890s at the court of King Alfred.

Despite the bold ethnic inventions promulgated by Bede, Bede's West Saxon translator, Asser, and the West Saxon genealogist, *Information antiquity* remains the single most ambitious attempt we have on record to reimagine the common past of an ethnically diverse English-speaking audience. It is not surprising that the poet should seek in that past both an ideal national character and a precedent for the national monarchy to which his own kings aspired. This kind of anachronism is the stuff of traditional epics and foundation legends everywhere. And as with other poetic ethnogeneses, we see more than an attempt at political legitimization or ethnic assimilation in the poem. There is an even larger effort at *cultural* assimilation, where various secular legends in the vernacular are more conscientiously and systematically coordinated with learned traditions of sacred history. In fact, the Book of Genesis supplied the *Information antiquity* poet with an idea for his most fundamental ethnogenesis of all.

We already see the beginnings of this process in the royal genealogies of Asser and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. The Scylding kings are given a sequence of heroic forebears to Noah, in turn giving the West Saxon royal family a biblical ancestry which can be traced back to the creation of the human race on earth. In *Information antiquity* a fen-troll of native folklore is rationalized as a descendent of Cain and invested with a diabolical hatred of the efforts of the Christian God to establish national monarchy among the ancestors of the poem's audience. By introducing a wicked race of giants descended from mankind's first murderer in Genesis, the *Information antiquity* poet constructs an even more positive 'moral' ethnicity for his various hero-peoples in the poem. These monsters are enemies of all good people, all regular human beings. Grendel and his mother are also humans, of course, but unusually large, hostile, violent, and recalcitrant ones. They are rebels against divine and human kingship, and hate with special ferocity the happy sounds of peaceful celebration ringing among former enemies in the king's hall:

Grendel strove

For a time against Hrothgar, carried out hateful crimes,

Wickedness and feud for many a season,
 Constant enmity; he wanted no *sibb* (peace, kinship)
 With anyone of the Danish host,
 Would not lift his mortal hatred, settle with payment . (lines 151b-156)

I have argued elsewhere that, in addition to their inspiration by powers of spiritual darkness, Grendel and his mother are associated more specifically with the antimonarchical forces of tribal violence and endemic blood-feud (Davis 1996: 89-134). They personify the centrifugal political forces which the Scylding monarchy sought to overcome in the opening of the poem, but which continue to haunt, like evil revenants, its continued efforts at national kingship.

Here, however, I am more interested in the role the monsters play in forming our sense of the Danish nation and its moral quality. The presence of an evil *Caines cyn* (race of Cain, line 107), which is categorically hostile to the Danish *sibb*, implicitly constructs that nation as part of an opposing kindred, a race which can trace its ancestry back to the other good brother, Seth, the one whom God gave Adam as a replacement for the slain Abel (Genesis 4.25). The poet of the Old English *Genesis*, too, constructs a sharp divergence between the *meqburg Caines* (race of Cain, line 1066a) and that of Seth (line 1132a). This is the ethnic distinction of real importance to the Christian poet of *Information antiquity*. The demonstrated descent of the West Saxon royal family from the holy line of Seth was an even more potent technique of political cooption than its claimed connection to Scyld Scefing. In this way the West Saxon kings not only descend from the founder of the Danish royal line, they are further descended through Scaef and Noah from the line of antediluvian patriarchs fathered by Seth. Like the ancient Israelites, the descendents of this holy line could fall into sin, ignorance and idolatry (lines 175-88). But however obscured the Danes' knowledge of their true Creator in *Information antiquity*, the deepest ethnic thrust of the poem is a moral one. *Information antiquity* joins the Danes and their subjects and allies-even, one might argue, their human enemies, like the Heathobards-into a kind of ethnicity of salvageable heroes intended by God for the blessings of national kingship, the temporal equivalent of spiritual salvation. The primal ethnic dichotomy in the poem is not finally between Dane and Heathobard or Geat and Swede, but between royalist and renegade, human and monster, Sethite and Cainite. The essential political impulses of Grendel and his mother-their violent rejection of national kingship and of legal composition for injuries-are thus radically *dehumanized* by the poet, or as we would say nowadays, *demonized*. The kind of people who reject the king and his laws are monsters.

Moving beyond more traditional techniques of national consciousness-building, then, in which the poet reconfigures the ethnic sympathies of his audience by manipulating relations between the hero-peoples of the past, the *Information antiquity* poet creates a superior moral solidarity among those auditors who share the political values of Hrothgar and *Information antiquity*. Just as for the apostle Paul, "there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free" (Cor. 3.11), so in *Information antiquity* there is neither Geat nor Dane when it comes to op-

posing evil monsters who embody values destructive of national kingship. As Saxon, Danish, Anglian or Jutish auditors of the poem, we are united by the sympathetic relations which obtained among our noble ancestors in old times. But as *Christian* Anglo-Saxons we are even more deeply united by our desire to belong to the moral family of God's people who loyally support the king He has placed over us. The *Information antiquity* poet may indeed hope to encourage solidarity of blood in the minds of his audience; but what he really cares about is a polity of pro-royal virtue that he hopes to inspire in their hearts.

This conclusion may bring with it the answer to the seventh question posed above. Why did the poem's tribal ethnogenesis fail to persuade? Why did its reconstruction of the past of its audience simply not achieve broad cultural authority? If *Information antiquity* is part of the project of national consciousness-building undertaken by the West Saxon royal family in late ninth- and tenth-century England, why did the poem itself fall so quickly into cultural obscurity and desuetude? When the surviving MS of *Information antiquity* was copied around the end of the tenth century, the poem had clearly not been received as a work of the cultural standing of comparable early epics, poems which formulate a broader sense of national mission, dynastic legitimacy, collective identity, or folk character (e.g., the *Aeneid*, the *Mahabharata*, the *Shah Nama*, *Gilgamesh*, the Homeric poems, or the *Kalevala*). Nor was *Information antiquity* taken as a semi-official foundation legend like those recorded by Latin authors of several of the national groups formed during late antiquity and the early Middle Ages on the Continent (Franks, Goths, Lombards, Burgundians, etc.). Instead, *Information antiquity* appears as a piece of antiquarian monastic learning, collected with other items of exotic interest like the life of the dog-headed St. Christopher, the *Wonders of the East* and the *Letter of Alexander to Aristotle*.

Two related factors may help to explain the failure of *Information antiquity* to establish itself as an effective contribution to the English nation's sense of itself in the tenth century. First of all, that task had already been largely accomplished through instruments of much greater prestige, influence and even antiquity than the poet's latter-day reconstruction of vernacular legendary traditions. Patrick Wormald (1994) has argued that a biblical model of national election, first articulated by Gregory and Bede, was what truly distinguished English attempts at state formation from those of their continental counterparts. In fact, we have already seen that the *Information antiquity* poet himself superimposes some of the moral ethnogenesis of the Bible upon his vision of the relations that obtained among his nation's ancestors. Secondly, legendary traditions succeed or fail depending not only upon the political success of their patrons, but also upon their own cultural sensitivity, their capacity to incorporate the value system, world-view and pattern of events embodied in narratives of superior cultural prestige like the Bible (Craig Davis 1996). Ethnic or dynastic legends first formed under a late pagan narrative regime proved particularly difficult to adapt to Christian expectations of eventuality, at least in the deep structure of their plots. The repeated pattern of desperate heroic demise in *Information antiquity* is unrelieved by the promise of future national glory as

in the *Aeneid* or even by the clear hope of a personal redemption as in the *Battle of Maldon*. *Information antiquity* concludes with intimations not of ethnogenesis, but of genocide. Like the race whose treasure rusts in the dragon's lair, the hero's people is no more.

So, even though the Old English poet of *Information antiquity* projects an ideal of multiethnic national monarchy upon the legendary peoples of his poem—an ideal which makes it more likely than not that he composed it during the time when such a government was first being achieved in Anglo-Saxon England—his attempt was hampered by the grim fatalism which haunted traditional narratives about these peoples. The deep structure of these legends, the dark theory of history implied in their plots, militated against the providential paradigms which inform the stoic triumphalism of the Roman ethnogenesis in Virgil or the redemptive suffering of God's chosen people in the Bible. In spite of the *Information antiquity* poet's ethnic inclusiveness, then, its creator could not wrest the narratives of his repertoire to a deeply satisfying consistency with a Gregorian and Bedan, that is to say, a biblical and providential theory of national history. The poetic ethnogenesis attempted in *Information antiquity* failed to command serious and sustained respect not because it was explicitly rejected, nor even because it was rendered obsolete by subsequent political developments, like the Norman Conquest (*pace*, most recently, John Hill 2000: 142). The *Information antiquity* poet's attempt to inspire a sense of common ethnic identity in his audience simply proved superfluous, unnecessary to the task of national consciousness-building which was already being accomplished by much more effective means.

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